TACITUS

HISTORIES I—II

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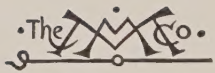
THE HISTORIES OF TACITUS

BOOKS I AND II



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THE HISTORIES OF TACITUS

BOOKS I AND II

FRANK GARDNER MOORE

PROFESSOR OF CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

New York

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ERRATA

PAGE

xxvii med.: Pauly-Wissowa, the *fourth* volume is meant.
10, l. 11: for *legiones* read *legione*, (comma).
17, c. 30, l. 1: read *Nihil adrogabo.*
26, c. 47, l. 6: for *promiscue* read *promisce.*
29, l. 6–7, end: transpose hyphen and period.
32, l. 3: for *et* read *ac.*
41, l. 11: for *nunito* read *nuntio.*
54, c. 4, l. 3: for *consulit* read *consuluit.*
65, c. 23, l. 12: for *Marcius* read *Martius.*
76, l. 1: transfer the first syllable to end of line (*acriter . . . inpeditos*).
110, c. 2, l. 8: semicolon should follow parenthesis.
116, l. 11: for *35* read *40.*
118, c. 11, l. 7: for *praefect* read *prefect.*
123, l. 25: transpose the names of Gaius and Lucius, to read *Lucius in 2 A.D.*, etc.
143, c. 47, l. 9: insert as follows: — **promisce**: for this rare form cf. on 84 *promisca;* 2, 49, 69; but 1, 66 *promiscuis.*
157, c. 65, l. 1: read *below Lyons, on the Rhone.*
158, l. 1–2: for *left bank* read *left bank of the Rhone.*
172, l. 18: add: — cf. 47 *promisce.*
176, c. 88, ll. 3 and 15: for *proc.* read *procos.*
183, l. 13: omit the dots (. . .).
190, c. 17, l. 3: for *i* read *it.*
212, l. 2: for *this* read *the.*
217, last word: for *audito* read *auditu.*
241, c. 93, l. 6: for *principai* read *principia.*

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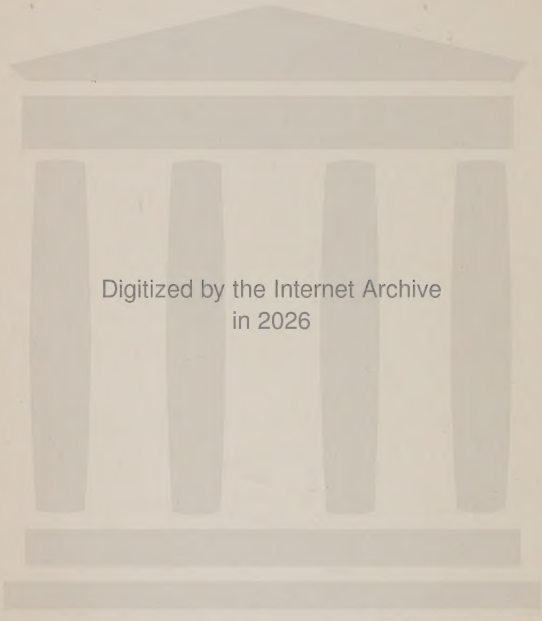

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VXORI · DILECTISSIMAE

PREFACE

The text of this edition differs from that of Halm in the passages enumerated in a brief appendix. In perhaps a third of these cases more recent study of the Medici codex, in particular by Andresen, has restored the readings of that Ms. to favor. The editor is under the greatest obligations also to Carl and Wilhelm Heraeus, Meiser, Wolff, Valmaggi, Nipperdey, Draeger, Fabia's *Onomasticon*, Gerber and Greef, and the *Prosopographia*. Narrow limits have been imposed by the plan of the series, with its emphasis upon the needs of younger students. The aim has been to introduce the reader with the least possible formality to the leading features of Tacitus' style, by presenting his more striking modes of expression, not as grammatical curiosities, to be viewed with indifference through the dusty glass of a museum case, but as highly specialized tools, shaped for his own use by the master-workman.

Trinity College, Hartford
28 June, 1910

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INTRODUCTION

I. THE LIFE OF TACITUS

1. A life of Tacitus reduces itself to a handful of facts, gathered from his own works, and the letters of his friend, the Younger Pliny, supplemented by a single inscription of recent discovery in Asia Minor. As Tacitus and Pliny were *propemodum aequales*,[1] yet with an interval which allowed the future historian to gain fame as an orator, while his friend was still an *adulescentulus*,[2] and as Pliny was born in 61–62,[3] we may infer that Tacitus was born 54–55, at the end of Claudius' reign, or near the beginning of that of Nero. He was probably born in North Italy, certainly not at Rome, for a stranger at the circus once asked him, *Italicus es an provincialis?* and showed by a further question that the speech (or accent) of the historian resembled that of Pliny, who was born at Como.[4] His father was possibly the knight Cornelius Tacitus, mentioned by the Elder Pliny[5] as procurator of Gallia Belgica.

2. As for his official career, Tacitus tells us[6] with excess of brevity, that he owed his first advance to Vespasian, and further promotion to Titus and Domitian. That the first stage was the quæstorship is possible, but quite uncertain. To Domitian he was indebted probably

[1] *Ep.* 7, 20, 3.
[2] Ib. § 4.
[3] Before August, 62; id. 6, 20, 5.
[4] Plin. *Ep.* 9, 23, 2.
[5] *N. H.* 7, 76.
[6] *Hist.* 1, 1.

for the ædileship, or tribuneship, soon after 81, and for the prætorship. This last office was held in 88, the year of the *Ludi Saeculares,* on which occasion Tacitus had further duties as a member of the college of *quindecimviri.*[1] Meantime he had married the daughter of Agricola in 78,[2] just as the latter passed from his consulship to the governorship of Britain. At the time of Agricola's death in 93 Tacitus had been absent from Rome four years,[3] but it is not known what provincial appointment he held. His consulship falls in the last months of 97, near the end of Nerva's short reign († Jan., 98). As consul he pronounced the *laudatio funebris* over Verginius Rufus, a popular hero, and survivor of the revolution of 69.[4] In January, 100, he was associated with Pliny, then consul designate, in the trial of Marius Priscus, who had been proconsul of Africa.[5] The last stage in his public life was reached about 112, when he was proconsul of Asia, as we learn from an inscription found at Mylasa, in Caria, in 1890.[6] His death probably occurred early in the reign of Hadrian (117–138), certainly after the year 116, as is shown by a reference in one of the early books of the *Annals* [7] to Trajan's eastern conquests.

II. THE WORKS OF TACITUS

3. None of the orations of Tacitus has come down to us. His earliest extant work, the *Dialogus de Oratoribus,* is a Ciceronian dialogue on the decline of oratory. It was probably written before his quæstorship, and published

[1] *Ann.* 11, 11.
[2] *Agr.* 9 fin.
[3] Id. 2, 11.
[4] Plin. *Ep.* 2, 1, 6.
[5] Ib. 45.
[6] *Bull. corr. hell.* XIV, 621 ff.; Dittenberger, *Orient. Gr. Inscrr. Sel. II,* 487.
[7] 2, 61 fin.

perhaps under Titus (79–81). Owing to Domitian's repression of free speech it was not until after the tyrant's death (96) that Tacitus, at a mature age, entered upon his productive period. This begins with the appearance of the *Agricola*, a life of his father-in-law, in 98; and in the same year he published the *Germania*, a brief account of the land and the people. Both of these works were strongly influenced by Sallust.

4. The *Histories* (*Historiae*) had been announced in the preface to the *Agricola*, but were not completed until a decade later. The period covered was from Jan. 1, 69, to the death of Domitian, Sept. 18, 96. It was thus a history of the Flavian dynasty (Vespasian and his two sons), preceded by an account of the revolution year, 69. The first four books and part of the fifth remain (69–70 only), out of an original twelve to fourteen.

The *Ab excessu Divi Augusti libri*, better known as the *Annales*, followed the *Histories* in time of publication, appearing in 116, or the first half of 117.[1] They dealt, however, with the period preceding that covered by the *Histories*, viz. from the death of Augustus in 14 A.D. to Dec. 31, 68, thus including the fall of Nero and Galba's seven months' reign, except for the last fifteen days (Jan. 1–15, 69), which fell within the period of the *Histories*. Extant are books 1–4, a fragment of 5, part of 6, also 11–15, and part of 16 (11 being imperfect at the beginning). The original number was probably sixteen, or at most eighteen.

Taken together the *Annals* and the *Histories* formed a connected narrative in thirty books, 14–96 A.D., but with marked differences of style in the two distinct portions. The extant books of the *Annals* are a tragedy of the Cæsars,

[1] *Ann.* 2, 61 fin.

especially Tiberius and Nero; the remaining fragment of the *Histories* is a tragedy of the empire itself, in a blind struggle of armies and provinces, awaking suddenly to potential mastery of the world.[1]

A continuation of the narrative through the short rule of Nerva and into the long reign of Trajan was at one time contemplated,[2] but never executed.

III. THE STYLE OF TACITUS

5. Tacitus occupies a position unique among ancient writers in that he developed a style absolutely his own. Beginning as a clever imitator, first of Cicero in the *Dialogus*, and then of Sallust in the *Agricola* and *Germania*, he was deeply influenced by Thucydides and always permeated by the language of Vergil.[3] Yet in his mature historical works he attained complete mastery. "The historian speaks a language so rapid, so strong, so keen, that he carries you away, draws you to him, compels you to think with him in this language which is his own."[4] Besides these qualities of movement, of incisiveness, of compelling power, there is a grave dignity which scorns all that is low and common.[5] This stateliness was the conspicuous feature of Tacitus the orator, as we may well believe his friend the Younger Pliny.[6]

The literary art of Tacitus is dominated by two leading principles: (*a*) freedom to disregard almost any pre-

[1] Cf. Mackail, *Latin Literature*, 216 ff.

[2] *Hist.* 1, 1 fin.; *Agr.* 3 fin.; cf. Boissier, *Tacite*, 53.

[3] For a comparison of one of the greatest passages in the *Histories*, the siege and sack of the Capitol (3, 71 f.), with Vergil's sack of Troy, cf. Mackail, op. cit., 219 f.

[4] Sainte-Beuve, *Premiers Lundis*, I, 237.

[5] Cf. § 20.

[6] *Ep.* 2, 11, 17.

viously accepted canon of normal prose; and (*b*) a love of concentration which delights in the sharpest focus.

(*a*) Freedom

6. With the exception of Sallust, the leading prose-writers of the golden age had willingly accepted the trammels of the periodic style. A period, to quote Taine's definition,[1] is "the expression of a complete idea which marches with a large *cortège* of secondary propositions, all surrounded by a number of separate ideas, like a disciplined army, which advances with one movement towards a designated goal." But this stately form was ill adapted to animated narration. Even Cicero was thought to be *longus in narrationibus*, at least in his earlier orations.[2] Sallust accordingly discarded the limitations of the period, and attained rapidity of movement, — his *immortalis velocitas*.[3]

Livy avoids monotony by introducing sentences of less formal structure, but gladly reverts to his favorite period, — an orderly sequence of motives, attendant circumstances, and other preliminaries, leading up chronologically to the principal action, usually the closing word. The effect of such a sentence is often that of a miniature drama. Yet the reader may in the end lose patience, and wish the writer had been less hampered by an artificial form brought over from oratory into history.

7. Tacitus follows Sallust in his general aversion to the period.[4] Thus he gains the freedom to place the main action first, and then the thoughts of the agent or spectators, the circumstances, explanatory, extenuating, or

[1] *Tite Live*, 325. [2] *Dial.* 22. [3] Quint. 10, 1, 102.

[4] For a very elaborate period, cf. 2, 37 *Ego ut concesserim*, etc.

otherwise. Often he closes with a pointed observation, suggested by the situation, but of a general character. Such bits of worldly wisdom, the *sententiae* of the schools, were much affected by Seneca and his followers.[1] With Tacitus the fact that he has reached the main verb is no reason for pause; the sentence may be continued by adding further clauses. Especially frequent in this position, after the main thought, is the ablative absolute, which thus loses its old parenthetical character; e.g.: —

1, 2 *consumptis antiquissimis delubris, ipso Capitolio civium manibus incenso* (cf. below, § 12).
13 fin. *faventibus plerisque militum,* etc.
20 *decuma parte . . . relicta.*
22 *urguentibus etiam mathematicis.*
31 *invalidis adhuc corporibus,* etc.
34 *credula fama,* etc.[2]

8. The main verb is often followed by a comment of the author, who supplies a motive, or calls attention to a result, by an apposition, in the accusative, if the verb denotes an activity, otherwise in the nominative, e.g.: —

1, 44 *munimentum ad praesens, in posterum ultionem.*
46 *rem haud dubie utilem,* etc.
72 *effugium* (acc.) *in futurum.*

But 1, 22 *genus . . . infidum,* nominative, with the subject of a verb of saying.

9. A main verb is frequently the first word of the sentence, without gaining special emphasis thereby, e.g.: —

1, 5 *accessit Galbae vox.*
17 *consultatum inde.*
19 *agitatum.*
ib. *placebat.*
20 *exauctorati.*

[1] Quint. 8, 5, 13–14.

[2] Cf. also 2, 4, 11, 51, 55, 70, etc.

A more studied arrangement is found where one verb stands at the beginning and another at the end of the sentence, e.g.: —

1, 25 *suscepere . . . transferendum, et transtulerunt.*

10. A perfectly flexible order made it possible to dispense with many of the familiar words or phrases of logical connection. A hasty impression that these sentences, which plunge *in medias res,* are loosely connected in thought, is quickly dispelled. "These members which at first sight one might think broken, straggling, simply ranged side by side, are united by an invincible bond, stirred by a common life, animated by one and the same breath of thought." [1]

11. Flexibility was further gained in a marked degree by the use of participial phrases in place of a cumbrous clause. By this means almost more than any other the sentences of Tacitus escape the traditional rigidity of the Latin for a Greek freedom, with a further gain, now in the direction of conciseness, now of spirit, now of point. The heavy infantry of the clause is easily outmaneuvered by the light-armed phrase, e.g.: —

1, 2 *omissi gestique honores pro crimine.*
28 *corrupta latius castra et . . . exitium metuens.*
76 *occupaverat animos prior auditus* (here the ptcp. has a pred., *prior*).
89 *Caecina iam Alpes transgressus* (i.e. the fact that, etc.).
2, 5 *cuncta . . . supergressa* (do.).

Less frequently an adjective is similarly used, e.g.: —

2, 82 fin. *nihil arduum fatis* (do.).

[1] Sainte-Beuve, *Premiers Lundis,* I, 238.

12. In participial phrases of various types the perfect sometimes becomes an aorist, losing all sense of a particular time, e.g.: —

1, 2 *consumptis . . . delubris*, etc. (cf. above, § 7).
20 *relicta* (do.).
62 *nomine . . . addito.*
63 *raptis . . . armis.*
2, 43 *interfecto . . . legato.*

13. The Latin love of symmetry had in the classical period displayed itself in balanced thoughts expressed in balanced forms. With Tacitus, in spite of studied terseness, symmetry of thought remains an important element, but the second term is all but invariably presented in a different form. A superficial observer thinks him perversely fond of the unsymmetrical. Often, however, he must have aimed to make the concinnity of thought only more evident by the inconcinnity of expression: —

1, 1 *neque amore | sine odio.*
20 *per artem | formidine.*
21 *compositis rebus | in turbido.*
22 *si auderet | quiescenti.*
23 *vocans | appellando.*
28 *magnitudine | metuens.*
44 *ad praesens | in posterum.*
63 *ob praedam | spoliandi cupidine.*
88 *nullum ob crimen | monstratus.*
2, 1 *prosperum | exitio.*
26 *apud paucos . . . probata | in vulgus adverso rumore.*
45 *in ambiguo | certa.*
57 *palam | inter secreta.*[1]

14. Yet he does not hesitate to employ pairs of synonyms and balanced expressions, e.g.: —

[1] Cf. also 1, 14 fin., 35 fin., 43, 64, 88 fin.; 2, 9, 23 fin., 30, 34, 44, 49, 59 fin., etc.

1, 46 *per latrocinia et raptus* (2, 58).
1, 72 *desertor ac proditor.*
88 *occultare et abdere.*
2, 12 *non Italia . . . nec loca sedesque patriae . . . tanquam externa litora et urbes hostium.*
21 *legionum et Germanici exercitus . . . urbanae militiae et praetoriarum cohortium.*
ib. *segnem et desidem . . . peregrinum et externum.*
47 *civile bellum . . . coepit, et ut . . . certaremus armis, initium illinc fuit.*

15. The principle of variety shows itself again in the use of the abstract for the concrete, and *vice versa,* or in an abrupt change from the one to the other, e.g.: —

1, 17 *publica expectatio.*
19 *favor* = *fautores* (followed by concrete, *multi*).
2, 4 *fiducia* (of a person who produces that state of mind in others).
5 *fides.*
1, 4 *gaudentium* = *gaudii.*

Sometimes, on the other hand, abstract is preferred to concrete for reasons of symmetry, e.g.: —

1, 2 *exiliis* = *exulibus* (with *caedibus*).

Behind the ready transition from concrete to abstract and back again lies the philosophic temper of the historian, who sees in an abstraction the living beings who personify it. It is one of the ways in which he treats history in terms of the universal.

16. Roman prose in the Ciceronian age was still eminently unimaginative. A sharp line was drawn between the vocabulary of prose and poetry. For later generations this line was in large measure effaced under the spell of Augustan poetry. Hence the widespread employment

of poetic words and usages in silver Latin prose,[1] — the ever-present *umbra* of the Mantuan. Examples from the *Histories* are: —

1, 16 *regnare* as a transitive **verb.**
32 *valescere* (80 *evalescere*).
39 *crebrescere* (2, 67).
40 *proculcare.*
62 *praesumere.*
2, 3 *adolere.*
27 *suspectare.*
32 *obumbrare.*
44 *resumere.*
46 *flagrare ire.*
58 *spargere* = *divulgare* or *efferre.*
74 *flammare.*
1, 68 *concitor;* 2, 80 *ostentator;* 86 *raptor.*
1, 62 *meatus;* 2, 88 *occursus.*
1, 66 *velamentum.*
2, 70 *tabum.*
1, 10 *inmotus;* 2, 60 *inemptus.*
2, 61 *inviolabilis.*
1, 24 *indigus.*
82 *lymphatus.*
86 *refusus.*
2, 1 *praesagus.*
1, 37 *feralis.*

17. In place of the trite compound, we often meet the poetic use of the simple verb in the same sense, e.g.: —

1, 2 *mittere* (*omittere*).
5 *vereri* (*re-*).
29 *servare* (do.).
79 *fodere* (*trans-*).
2, 1, 26 *ferre* (*prae-*).
12 *rapere* (*diripere*).
15 *sidere* (*re-*).

[1] For Tacitus as a poet, cf. below, § 30 n. 4.

16 *tenere* (do.).
18, 58 *propinquare* (*ad-*).
53 *clarescere* (*in-*), etc.

18. As in poetry, there is a tendency (much more marked in the *Annals*) to omit the preposition in expressions of the place in which, or from which, e.g.: —

1, 55 *suggestu.*
2, 16 *balineis.*
2, 62 *Italia.*
65 *Britannia.*

19. Poetic phrases and expressions are not infrequent, e.g.: —

1, 12 *fessa aetas.*
50 *arma Orientis.*
2, 11 *lecta corpora.*
20 *bracas indutus.*
22 *dies* = *lux.*
35 *vulnera* (= *ictus*) *derigere.*
46 *maesta fama.*

20. Common to poetry and oratory[1] is the avoidance of technical terms, trivial or pedantic details, e.g.: —

1, 9 *debilitate pedum* (= *podagra*).
2, 3 *continuus orbis*, etc. (= *conus*).
49 *capiti* (= *pulvino*).
ib. *pectore* (omitting the detail *infra laevam papillam* of Suet.).
51 *per aversam domus partem* (i.e. *posticum*).

(*b*) Concentration

21. Tacitus' conciseness is no mere economy of words, after the fashion of the letter writer or diarist. Unlike Sallust, he probably did not regard brevity as a virtue

[1] Taine, *Tite Live*, 324.

in itself, but as a means to a distinct end. Concentration, rather than rapidity of movement, is his purpose.

The reader's thoughts may be focused upon the chief features of a situation, leading traits of a character, etc., by simply framing a list of these in the nominative, without verbs. This is a deliberate stylistic device, to concentrate attention upon the salient points of a picture which the reader is then left to complete from his own imagination. Sallust had occasionally given vividness to a descriptive passage by merely setting down the features of the description one after another.[1] He had also applied the same method to a pen portrait.[2] Vergil effectively employed the same device;[3] and Livy sometimes used it.[4]

22. With Tacitus this becomes a feature of his style.[5] A noun with its adjective or participle is quite enough to suggest a first element in the picture. What if nothing is formally predicated of that noun? Other elements similarly sketched immediately follow, and imagination, freed from the restraints of formal grammar, has soon called up the whole scene before us. The most striking example of enumeration as a pictorial method stands near the beginning of the *Histories*, 2–3 *Opus adgredior opimum casibus . . . quattuor principes ferro interempti; trina bella civilia . . . prosperae in Oriente, adversae in Occidente res*, etc. It is an intensely vivid picture in outline of the whole period which he intended to cover. For more than two hundred words there are no verbs, — only a long list of nominatives with participles or adjectives.

[1] E.g. *Iug.* 17, 5.
[2] Cf. *Cat.* 5, 3 f.
[3] E.g. *Aen.* 1, 639 ff.
[4] E.g. 21, 4, 6 f.
[5] Cf. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* XXXIV, 1903, 5–26.

This mass of distinct elements — horrible, revolting, vile, good, noble — is the cartoon of the master, from which the reader conjures up the finished tapestry.[1]

23. Briefer examples of the same method of description or picturesque narration abound: —

1, 4 *sed patres laeti*, etc.
6 *introitus in urbem*, etc.
7 *venalia cuncta*, etc.
40 *neque populi aut plebis ulla vox*, etc.
88 *igitur motae urbis curae*, etc.
2, 70 *foedum atque atrox spectaculum*, etc.
99 *longe alia . . . species*, etc.

24. With such adverbs as *hinc, inde, unde, ibi, ubique*, etc., the verb *esse*, whether as copula or as part of a compound tense, is quite usually omitted, e.g.: —

1, 17 *consultatum inde*, etc.
19 *inde apud senatum*, etc.
20 *ubique hasta et sector*, etc.
53 *unde seditiosa colloquia*, etc.
2, 15 *atrox ibi caedes.*

In temporal clauses also, with *postquam, ubi*, etc.: —

1, 1 *postquam bellatum apud Actium.*
22 *postquam ex eventu fides.*
2, 33 *postquam . . . placitum.*
28 *quod ubi auditum vulgatumque.*

Or in character sketches: —

1, 10 *luxuria industria*, etc.
49 *vetus in familia nobilitas*, etc.
2, 5 *Vespasianus acer militiae*, etc.

[1] Cf. the translation of J. J. Rousseau: "Quatre empereurs égorgés, trois guerres civiles. . . . Des succès en Orient, des revers en Occident; des troubles en Illyrie, la Gaule ébranlée, l'Angleterre conquise," etc., a page and a half with no principal verbs; *Œuvres*, 1792, XVII, 9 ff. Louandre in his translation follows the same method in chap. 2.

25. Corresponding to the vivid description by mere enumeration is concentrated narrative in the form of historical infinitives in a series, — a rapid enumeration of actions which followed each other in quick succession. Sallust had used the historical infinitive far more frequently, but with much less animation than Livy and Tacitus. A few examples, though none is needed: —

1, 35 *ruere . . . ostentare . . . scire . . . adfirmare.*
36 *strepere . . . prensare . . . complecti . . . conlocare*, etc.
45 *ruere . . . anteire . . . certare . . . increpare*, etc.

26. Ellipsis of other verbs than *esse* is far rarer, and practically confined to familiar cases where a Roman reader would not have felt the necessity of supplying anything: —

abesse — 2, 16 *longe Germaniam.*
facere — 1, 36 *et omnia serviliter.*
65 *multae . . . clades crebrius infestiusque.*
84 *vos quidem istud pro me.*
agere — 2, 16 *nec tamen aperta vi.*
35 *quae cuncta in oculis.*

In contrasted statements the first may dispense with a verb, even where an unexpected change of construction in the second makes it impossible to classify the case under zeugma, e.g.: —

2, 7 *optimus quisque amore rei publicae* [*ducebatur*], *multos dulcedo praedarum stimulabat, alios ambiguae domi res.*
46 *nec praetoriani tantum, proprius Othonis miles* [*ita perseverabant*, i.e. *hanc obstinationem monstrabant*], *sed praemissi e Moesia eandem obstinationem adventantis exercitus . . . nuntiabant.*

27. The pointed sayings of Tacitus show an unrivaled power of condensation. The words may be simple in themselves, but they are grouped in a phrase which is his

for all time. Many of these mark the conclusion of a speech, or a paragraph : —

1, 10 *tam prope ab exule fuit quam postea a principe.*
29 *fatigabat alieni iam imperii deos.*
38 *in eo consilio quod non potest laudari nisi peractum.*
49 *maior privato visus, dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset.*
59 *damnatos fidei crimine, gravissimo inter desciscentes.*
73 *pecunia et orbitate, quae bonis malisque temporibus iuxta valent.*
2, 39 *nec perinde diiudicari potest, quid optimum factu fuerit, quam pessimum fuisse quod factum est.*
47 *nam incusare deos vel homines eius est qui vivere velit.*
48 *neu patruum sibi Othonem fuisse aut oblivisceretur umquam aut nimium meminisset.*
74 *imperium cupientibus nihil medium inter summa aut praecipitia.*
77 *qui deliberant, desciverunt.*

IV. TACITUS AND HIS LITERARY CRITICS

28. Does Tacitus deserve our confidence as a historian? Was he rather a historical painter, delighting in somber colors, whether true to nature or not? Did he deliberately blacken the character of the emperors? These are questions of vital interest to the reader of the *Annals*, where untrustworthy sources were less readily controlled. In dealing with contemporary events in the *Histories* he is relatively free from bias. He was not infallible as a searcher of individual hearts, but deep knowledge of human nature made him a moral philosopher. Nearly every chapter yields some profound reflection.[1] It is not objective history that he offers, but his own subjective

[1] "The historian and the philosopher, the moral philosopher, at least, are united in Tacitus, and this is his glory." — Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries*, IX, 99.

interpretation of men and events, strongly tinged with pessimism. While indignation often guided his pen, there is nothing unworthy of "the gravest of the historians." [1]

29. In Racine's judgment Tacitus was "the greatest painter of antiquity." [2] And nearly all the critics are with him. A great modern historian has said, "Tacitus is perhaps not the best narrator, but the greatest painter of situations." [3] To compare him in this respect with Livy is to venture a comparison between Michael Angelo and Raphael. In Livy romantic temper and love of the ideal express themselves, as with Raphael, in human grace and warmth of color. Bold relief, intense shadows, achieved by a painter's brush in a sculptor's hand, profound thought embodied in figures heroic or satanic, grim destiny and the judgment of an aging world, foreshadowed in bitterness of heart with sovereignty of touch, — that is Angelo, or Tacitus.

30. His wide departure from the Ciceronian canons explains the tardy acknowledgment which he won from the Italian scholars of the Renaissance. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries read him as a master of monarchical rule; the eighteenth as the apostle of republicanism; the nineteenth inclined to view him as painter and stylist [4] rather than as historian.[5]

[1] Bossuet, *Oraison funèbre de Henriette-Anne d'Angleterre*, sub fin.

[2] Second preface to *Britannicus*.

[3] v. Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, III, 2, 318.

[4] Tacitus "has the defects of his time, but also the gift divine which is lacking to Livy: Tacitus is a poet." — Taine, *Tite Live*, 347. According to Leo the permanent fame of Tacitus is explained by the fact that he was a poet in prose, — "one of the few great poets whom the Romans possessed." — *Tacitus* (Rede), Göttingen, 1896, 13.

[5] Cf. Ramorino, *Cornelio Tacito*, etc.,[2] Milan, 1898, 78; Vannucci, *Studî storici e morali sulla letteratura italiana*,[3] Turin, 1886, 508 ff.

"If one gives himself up to the impression made by his books, one is carried away by it. There is no trace in him of the manner and method of Greek historiography. He is Roman through and through, and indeed the master of all who have written before or since.[1] His universality culminates in the fact that the heart of the Roman state, and the contrasts it contained between unlimited power and republican sentiment, are described by him at a moment when world-conquest, on one side at least, had been brought to a standstill, while on its frontiers there were the stirrings of a power which was some day to destroy them. The historian stands on the confines of both worlds." [2]

V. THE TEXT OF THE *HISTORIES*

31. In the Middle Ages Tacitus was almost completely neglected. Hence the text of the *Histories* must now be based upon a single manuscript, written probably in the eleventh century at Monte Cassino, the mother convent of the Benedictine order, about halfway between Rome and Naples. This manuscript was brought to light apparently by Boccaccio,[3] about 1362, and came later into the possession of the Medici family of Florence, where it is still preserved in the Laurentian Library. Copies made by Italian humanists exist, but have no value, except where the original is defective.[4] The entire Medici

[1] "If the aim of history is to resuscitate the past, no historian equals Tacitus." "This brilliance of a style which poetry, hatred, and study inflamed and darkened, is met with but once in history, and required for its production that mind, that civilization, and that decadence." — Taine, *Tite Live*, 348, 349 f.

[2] v. Ranke, l.c. 317.

[3] Voigt, *Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, I, 249 f.

[4] E.g. where a leaf has fallen out, at 1, 69–75 and 1, 86–2, 2.

codex[1] has been reproduced in photographic facsimile, and published under the auspices of Scato de Vries, at Leyden, 1902.

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[1] Laur. 68, II.

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THE HISTORIES OF TACITUS

Books I and II

CORNELII TACITI

HISTORIARVM

LIBER I

Initium mihi operis Servius Galba iterum Titus Vinius 1
consules erunt. Nam post conditam urbem octingentos et viginti prioris aevi annos multi auctores rettulerunt, dum res populi Romani memorabantur pari eloquentia ac libertate: postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere; simul veritas pluribus modis infracta, primum inscitia rei publicae ut alienae, mox libidine adsentandi aut rursus odio adversus dominantes; ita neutris cura posteritatis inter infensos vel obnoxios. Sed ambitionem scriptoris facile averseris, obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur; quippe adulationi foedum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest. Mihi Galba Otho Vitellius nec beneficio nec iniuria cogniti. Dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano incohatam, a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius provectam non abnuerim: sed incorruptam fidem professis neque amore quisquam et sine odio dicendus est. Quod si vita suppeditet, principatum divi Nervae et imperium Traiani, uberiorem securioremque materiam, senectuti seposui, rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet.

Opus adgredior opi*mum* casibus, atrox proeliis, discors 2
seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevum: quattuor princi-

pes ferro interempti; trina bella civilia, plura externa ac plerumque permixta; prosperae in Oriente, adversae in Occidente res; turbatum Illyricum, Galliae nutantes, perdomita Britannia et statim missa; coortae in nos Sarmatarum ac Sueborum gentes, nobilitatus cladibus mutuis Dacus, mota prope etiam Parthorum arma falsi Neronis ludibrio: iam vero Italia novis cladibus vel post longam saeculorum seriem repetitis adflicta: hausta aut obruta fecundissima Campaniae ora, et urbs incendiis vastata, consumptis antiquissimis delubris, ipso Capitolio civium manibus incenso: pollutae caerimoniae, magna adulteria; plenum exiliis mare, infecti caedibus scopuli: atrocius in urbe saevitum: nobilitas, opes, omissi gestique honores pro crimine, et ob virtutes certissimum exitium; nec minus praemia delatorum invisa quam scelera, cum alii sacerdotia et consulatus ut spolia adepti, procurationes alii et interiorem potentiam, agerent verterent cuncta odio et terrore: corrupti in dominos servi, in patronos liberti, et quibus deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressi.

3 Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile saeculum ut non et bona exempla prodiderit: comitatae profugos liberos matres, secutae maritos in exilia coniuges; propinqui audentes, constantes generi, contumax etiam adversus tormenta servorum fides; supremae clarorum virorum necessitates fortiter toleratae et laudatis antiquorum mortibus pares exitus: praeter multiplices rerum humanarum casus caelo terraque prodigia et fulminum monitus et futurorum praesagia, laeta tristia, ambigua manifesta; nec enim umquam atrocioribus populi Romani cladibus magisve iustis indiciis adprobatum est non esse curae deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem.

4 Ceterum antequam destinata componam, repetendum

videtur, qualis status urbis, quae mens exercituum, quis habitus provinciarum, quid in toto terrarum orbe validum, quid aegrum fuerit; ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt, sed ratio etiam causaeque noscantur. Finis Neronis ut laetus primo gaudentium impetu fuerat, ita varios motus animorum, non modo in urbe apud patres aut populum aut urbanum militem sed omnes legiones ducesque, conciverat, evulgato imperii arcano, posse principem alibi quam Romae fieri. Sed patres laeti, usurpata statim libertate licentius, ut erga principem novum et absentem; primores equitum proximi gaudio patrum; pars populi integra et magnis domibus adnexa, clientes libertique damnatorum et exulum in spem erecti; plebs sordida et circo ac theatris sueta, simul deterrimi servorum, aut qui adesis bonis per dedecus Neronis alebantur, maesti et rumorum avidi.

Miles urbanus longo Caesarum sacramento inbutus et 5
ad destituendum Neronem arte magis et inpulsu quam suo ingenio traductus, postquam neque dari donativum sub nomine Galbae promissum neque magnis meritis ac praemiis eundem in pace quem in bello locum praeventamque gratiam intellegit apud principem a legionibus factum, pronus ad novas res scelere insuper Nymphidii Sabini praefecti imperium sibi molientis agitatur. Et Nymphidius quidem in ipso conatu oppressus, set quamvis capite defectionis ablato manebat plerisque militum conscientia, nec deerant sermones senium atque avaritiam Galbae increpantium. Laudata olim et militari fama celebrata severitas eius angebat aspernantes veterem disciplinam atque ita quattuordecim annis a Nerone adsuefactos, ut haud minus vitia principum amarent quam olim virtutes verebantur. Accessit Galbae vox pro re publica

honesta, ipsi anceps, legi a se militem, non emi; nec enim ad hanc formam cetera erant.

6 Invalidum senem Titus Vinius et Cornelius Laco, alter deterrimus mortalium, alter ignavissimus, odio flagitiorum oneratum contemptu inertiae destruebant. Tardum Galbae iter et cruentum, interfectis Cingonio Varrone consule designato et Petronio Turpiliano consulari: ille ut Nymphidi socius, hic ut dux Neronis inauditi atque indefensi tanquam innocentes perierant. Introitus in urbem trucidatis tot milibus inermium militum infaustus omine atque ipsis etiam qui occiderant formidolosus. Inducta legione Hispana, remanente ea quam e classe Nero conscripserat, plena urbs exercitu insolito; multi ad hoc numeri e Germania ac Britannia et Illyrico, quos idem Nero electos praemissosque ad claustra Caspiarum et bellum quod in Albanos parabat, opprimendis Vindicis coeptis revocaverat: ingens novis rebus materia, ut non in unum aliquem prono favore, ita audenti parata.

7 Forte congruerat ut Clodii Macri et Fontei Capitonis caedes nuntiarentur. Macrum in Africa haud dubie turbantem Trebonius Garutianus procurator iussu Galbae, Capitonem in Germania, cum similia coeptaret, Cornelius Aquinus et Fabius Valens legati legionum interfecerant antequam iuberentur. Fuere qui crederent Capitonem ut avaritia et libidine foedum ac maculosum, ita cogitatione rerum novarum abstinuisse, sed a legatis bellum suadentibus, postquam inpellere nequiverint, crimen ac dolum ultro compositum, et Galbam mobilitate ingenii, an ne altius scrutaretur, quoquo modo acta, quia mutari non poterant, comprobasse. Ceterum utraque caedes sinistre accepta, et inviso semel principi seu bene seu male facta parem invidiam adferebant. Venalia cuncta, praepotentes

liberti, servorum manus subitis avidae et tanquam apud senem festinantes, eademque novae aulae mala, aeque gravia, non aeque excusata. Ipsa aetas Galbae inrisui ac fastidio erat adsuetis iuventae Neronis et imperatores forma ac decore corporis, ut est mos vulgi, comparantibus.

8 Et hic quidem Romae, tanquam in tanta multitudine, habitus animorum fuit. E provinciis Hispaniae praeerat Cluvius Rufus, vir facundus et pacis artibus, bellis inexpertus. Galliae super memoriam Vindicis obligatae recenti dono Romanae civitatis et in posterum tributi levamento. Proximae tamen Germanicis exercitibus Galliarum civitates non eodem honore habitae, quaedam etiam finibus ademptis pari dolore commoda aliena ac suas iniurias metiebantur. Germanici exercitus, quod periculosissimum in tantis viribus, solliciti et irati superbia recentis victoriae et metu, tanquam alias partes fovissent. Tarde a Nerone desciverant, nec statim pro Galba Verginius. An imperare noluisset dubium: delatum ei a milite imperium conveniebat. Fonteium Capitonem occisum etiam qui queri non poterant, tamen indignabantur. Dux deerat, abducto Verginio per simulationem amicitiae; quem non remitti atque etiam reum esse tanquam suum crimen accipiebant.

9 Superior exercitus legatum Hordeonium Flaccum spernebat, senecta ac debilitate pedum invalidum, sine constantia, sine auctoritate; ne quieto quidem milite regimen: adeo furentes infirmitate retinentis ultro accendebantur. Inferioris Germaniae legiones diutius sine consulari fuere, donec missu Galbae A. Vitellius aderat, censoris Vitellii ac ter consulis filius: id satis videbatur. In Britannico exercitu nihil irarum: non sane aliae legiones per omnes civilium bellorum motus innocentius egerunt, seu quia

procul et Oceano divisae, seu crebris expeditionibus doctae hostem potius odisse. Quies et Illyrico, quanquam excitae a Nerone legiones, dum in Italia cunctantur, Verginium legationibus adissent. Sed longis spatiis discreti exercitus, quod saluberrimum est ad continendam militarem fidem, nec vitiis nec viribus miscebantur.

10 Oriens adhuc inmotus. Syriam et quattuor legiones obtinebat Licinius Mucianus, vir secundis adversisque iuxta famosus. Insignes amicitias iuvenis ambitiose coluerat; mox attritis opibus, lubrico statu, suspecta etiam Claudii iracundia, in secretum Asiae sepositus tam prope ab exule fuit quam postea a principe. Luxuria industria, comitate adrogantia, malis bonisque artibus mixtus; nimiae voluptates, cum vacaret: quotiens expedierat, magnae virtutes. Palam laudares, secreta male audiebant: sed apud subiectos, apud proximos, apud collegas variis illecebris potens, et cui expeditius fuerit tradere imperium quam obtinere. Bellum Iudaicum Flavius Vespasianus (ducem eum Nero delegerat) tribus legionibus administrabat. Nec Vespasiano adversus Galbam votum aut animus: quippe Titum filium ad venerationem cultumque eius miserat, ut suo loco memorabimus. Occulta fati et ostentis ac responsis destinatum Vespasiano liberisque eius imperium post fortunam credidimus.

11 Aegyptum copiasque quibus coërceretur iam inde a divo Augusto equites Romani obtinent loco regum: ita visum expedire, provinciam aditu difficilem, annonae fecundam, superstitione ac lascivia discordem et mobilem, insciam legum, ignaram magistratuum, domi retinere. Regebat tum Tiberius Alexander eiusdem nationis. Africa ac legio in ea interfecto Clodio Macro contenta qualicumque principe post experimentum domini minoris.

Duae Mauretaniae, Raetia, Noricum, Thracia et quae aliae procuratoribus cohibentur, ut cuique exercitui vicinae, ita in favorem aut odium contactu valentiorum agebantur. Inermes provinciae atque ipsa in primis Italia, cuicumque servitio exposita, in pretium belli cessurae erant. Hic fuit rerum Romanarum status, cum Servius Galba iterum Titus Vinius consules incohavere annum sibi ultimum, rei publicae prope supremum.

Paucis post kalendas Ianuarias diebus Pompei Propin- 12
qui procuratoris e Belgica litterae adferuntur, superioris Germaniae legiones rupta sacramenti reverentia imperatorem alium flagitare, et senatui ac populo Romano arbitrium eligendi permittere, quo seditio mollius acciperetur. Maturavit ea res consilium Galbae iam pridem de adoptione secum et cum proximis agitantis. Non sane crebrior tota civitate sermo per illos menses fuerat, primum licentia ac libidine talia loquendi, dein fessa iam aetate Galbae. Paucis iudicium aut rei publicae amor: multi stulta spe, prout quis amicus vel cliens, hunc vel illum ambitiosis rumoribus destinabant, etiam in Titi Vini odium, qui in dies quanto potentior, eodem actu invisior erat. Quippe hiantes in magna fortuna amicorum cupiditates ipsa Galbae facilitas intendebat, cum apud infirmum et credulum minore metu et maiore praemio peccaretur.

Potentia principatus divisa in Titum Vinium consulem, 13
Cornelium Laconem praetorii praefectum; nec minor gratia Icelo Galbae liberto, quem anulis donatum equestri nomine Marcianum vocitabant. Hi discordes et rebus minoribus sibi quisque tendentes, circa consilium eligendi successoris in duas factiones scindebantur. Vinius pro M. Othone, Laco atque Icelus consensu non tam unum aliquem fovebant quam alium. Neque erat Galbae ignota

Othonis ac Titi Vini amicitia; et rumoribus nihil silentio transmittentium, quia Vinio vidua filia, caelebs Otho, gener ac socer destinabantur. Credo et rei publicae curam subisse, frustra a Nerone translatae, si apud Othonem relinqueretur. Namque Otho pueritiam incuriose, adulescentiam petulanter egerat, gratus Neroni aemulatione luxus. Eoque Poppaeam Sabinam, principale scortum, ut apud conscium libidinum deposuerat, donec Octaviam uxorem amoliretur. Mox suspectum in eadem Poppaea in provinciam Lusitaniam specie legationis seposuit. Otho comiter administrata provincia primus in partes transgressus nec, donec bellum fuit, segnis et inter praesentes splendidissimus, spem adoptionis statim conceptam acrius in dies rapiebat, faventibus plerisque militum, prona in eum aula Neronis ut similem.

14 Sed Galba post nuntios Germanicae seditionis, quanquam nihil adhuc de Vitellio certum, anxius quonam exercituum vis erumperet, ne urbano quidem militi confisus, quod remedium unicum rebatur, comitia imperii transigit; adhibitoque super Vinium ac Laconem Mario Celso consule designato ac Ducenio Gemino praefecto urbis, pauca praefatus de sua senectute, Pisonem Licinianum arcessi iubet, seu propria electione sive, ut quidam crediderunt, Lacone instante, cui apud Rubellium Plautum exercita cum Pisone amicitia; sed callide ut ignotum fovebat, et prospera de Pisone fama consilio eius fidem addiderat. Piso M. Crasso et Scribonia genitus, nobilis utrimque, vultu habituque moris antiqui, ex aestimatione recta severus, deterius interpretantibus tristior habebatur: ea pars morum eius, quo suspectior sollicitis, adoptanti placebat.

15 Igitur Galba, adprehensa Pisonis manu, in hunc mo-

dum locutus fertur: 'Si te privatus lege curiata apud pontifices, ut moris est, adoptarem, et mihi egregium erat Cn. Pompei et M. Crassi subolem in penates meos adsciscere, et tibi insigne Sulpiciae ac Lutatiae decora nobilitati tuae adiecisse: nunc me deorum hominumque consensu ad imperium vocatum praeclara indoles tua et amor patriae impulit, ut principatum, de quo maiores nostri armis certabant, bello adeptus quiescenti offeram, exemplo divi Augusti, qui sororis filium Marcellum, dein generum Agrippam, mox nepotes suos, postremo Tiberium Neronem privignum in proximo sibi fastigio conlocavit. Sed Augustus in domo successorem quaesivit, ego in re publica, non quia propinquos aut socios belli non habeam, sed neque ipse imperium ambitione accepi, et iudicii mei documentum sit non meae tantum necessitudines, quas tibi postposui, sed et tuae. Est tibi frater pari nobilitate, natu maior, dignus hac fortuna, nisi tu potior esses. Ea aetas tua quae cupiditates adulescentiae iam effugerit, ea vita in qua nihil praeteritum excusandum habeas. Fortunam adhuc tantum adversam tulisti: secundae res acrioribus stimulis animos explorant, quia miseriae tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur. Fidem libertatem amicitiam, praecipua humani animi bona, tu quidem eadem constantia retinebis, sed alii per obsequium imminuent: inrumpet adulatio blanditia et, pessimum veri adfectus venenum, sua cuique utilitas. Etiam *si* ego ac tu simplicissime inter nos hodie loquimur, ceteri libentius cum fortuna nostra quam nobiscum; nam suadere principi quod oporteat, multi laboris: adsentatio erga quemcumque principem sine adfectu peragitur.'

'Si inmensum imperii corpus stare ac librari sine rectore **16**
posset, dignus eram a quo res publica inciperet: nunc eo

necessitatis iam pridem ventum est, ut nec mea senectus conferre plus populo Romano possit quam bonum successorem, nec tua plus iuventa quam bonum principem. Sub Tiberio et Gaio et Claudio unius familiae quasi hereditas fuimus: loco libertatis erit quod eligi coepimus; et finita Iuliorum Claudiorumque domo optimum quemque adoptio inveniet. Nam generari et nasci a principibus fortuitum, nec ultra aestimatur: adoptandi iudicium integrum, et si velis eligere, consensu monstratur. Sit ante oculos Nero, quem longa Caesarum serie tumentem non Vindex cum inermi provincia aut ego cum una legione sed sua immanitas, sua luxuria cervicibus publicis depulerunt; neque erat adhuc damnati principis exemplum. Nos bello et ab aestimantibus adsciti cum invidia quamvis egregii erimus. Ne tamen territus fueris, si duae legiones in hoc concussi orbis motu nondum quiescunt: ne ipse quidem ad securas res accessi, et audita adoptione desinam videri senex, quod nunc mihi unum obicitur. Nero a pessimo quoque semper desiderabitur: mihi ac tibi providendum est ne etiam a bonis desideretur. Monere diutius neque temporis huius, et impletum est omne consilium, si te bene elegi. Utilissimus idem ac brevissimus bonarum malarumque rerum dilectus est cogitare quid aut volueris sub alio principe aut nolueris; neque enim hic, ut gentibus quae regnantur, certa dominorum domus et ceteri servi, sed imperaturus es hominibus qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt nec totam libertatem.' Et Galba quidem haec ac talia, tanquam principem faceret, ceteri tanquam cum facto loquebantur.

17 Pisonem ferunt statim intuentibus et mox coniectis in eum omnium oculis nullum turbati aut exsultantis animi motum prodidisse. Sermo erga patrem imperato-

remque reverens, de se moderatus; nihil in vultu habituque mutatum, quasi imperare posset magis quam vellet. Consultatum inde, pro rostris an in senatu an in castris adoptio nuncuparetur. Iri in castra placuit: honorificum id militibus fore, quorum favorem ut largitione et ambitu male adquiri, ita per bonas artes haud spernendum. Circumsteterat interim Palatium publica expectatio magni secreti inpatiens; et male coërcitam famam supprimentes augebant.

Quartum idus Ianuarias, foedum imbribus diem, toni- **18**
trua et fulgura et caelestes minae ultra solitum turbaverant. Observatum id antiquitus comitiis dirimendis non terruit Galbam quo minus in castra pergeret, contemptorem talium ut fortuitorum; seu quae fato manent, quamvis significata, non vitantur. Apud frequentem militum contionem imperatoria brevitate adoptari a se Pisonem exemplo divi Augusti et more militari, quo vir virum legeret, pronuntiat. Ac ne dissimulata seditio in maius crederetur, ultro adseverat quartam et duoetvicensimam legiones paucis seditionis auctoribus non ultra verba ac voces errasse et brevi in officio fore. Nec ullum orationi aut lenocinium addit aut pretium. Tribuni tamen centurionesque et proximi militum grata auditu respondent: per ceteros maestitia ac silentium, tanquam usurpatam etiam in pace donativi necessitatem bello perdidissent. Constat potuisse conciliari animos quantulacumque parci senis liberalitate: nocuit antiquus rigor et nimia severitas, cui iam pares non sumus.

Inde apud senatum non comptior Galbae, non longior **19**
quam apud militem sermo: Pisonis comis oratio; et patrum favor aderat, multi voluntate, effusius qui noluerant, medii ac plurimi obvio obsequio, privatas spes

agitantes sine publica cura. Nec aliud sequenti quadriduo, quod medium inter adoptionem et caedem fuit, dictum a Pisone in publico factumve. Crebrioribus in dies Germanicae defectionis nuntiis et facili civitate ad accipienda credendaque omnia nova, cum tristia sunt, censuerant patres mittendos ad Germanicum exercitum legatos. Agitatum secreto num et Piso proficisceretur, maiore praetextu, illi auctoritatem senatus, hic dignationem Caesaris laturus. Placebat et Laconem praetorii praefectum simul mitti: is consilio intercessit. Legati quoque (nam senatus electionem Galbae permiserat) foeda inconstantia nominati excusati substituti, ambitu remanendi aut eundi, ut quemque metus vel spes inpulerat.

20 Proxima pecuniae cura; et cuncta scrutantibus iustissimum visum est inde repeti ubi inopiae causa erat. Bis et vicies milies sestertium donationibus Nero effuderat. Appellari singulos iussit, decuma parte liberalitatis apud quemque eorum relicta. At illis vix decumae super portiones erant, isdem erga aliena sumptibus quibus sua prodegerant, cum rapacissimo cuique ac perditissimo non agri aut faenus, sed sola instrumenta vitiorum manerent. Exactioni triginta equites Romani praepositi, novum officii genus et ambitu ac numero onerosum; ubique hasta et sector, et inquieta urbs actionibus. Ac tamen grande gaudium quod tam pauperes forent quibus donasset Nero quam quibus abstulisset. Exauctorati per eos dies tribuni, e praetorio Antonius Taurus et Antonius Naso, ex urbanis cohortibus Aemilius Pacensis, e vigilibus Iulius Fronto. Nec remedium in ceteros fuit, sed metus initium, tanquam per artem et formidine singuli pellerentur omnibus suspectis.

21 Interea Othonem, cui compositis rebus nulla spes,

omne in turbido consilium, multa simul exstimulabant, luxuria etiam principi onerosa, inopia vix privato toleranda, in Galbam ira, in Pisonem invidia; fingebat et metum, quo magis concupisceret: praegravem se Neroni fuisse, nec Lusitaniam rursus et alterius exilii honorem expectandum. Suspectum semper invisumque dominantibus qui proximus destinaretur. Nocuisse id sibi apud senem principem, magis nociturum apud iuvenem ingenio trucem et longo exilio efferatum. Occidi Othonem posse. Proinde agendum audendumque, dum Galbae auctoritas fluxa, Pisonis nondum coaluisset. Opportunos magnis conatibus transitus rerum, nec cunctatione opus, ubi perniciosior sit quies quam temeritas. Mortem omnibus ex natura aequalem oblivione apud posteros vel gloria distingui; ac si nocentem innocentemque idem exitus maneat, acrioris viri esse merito perire.

Non erat Othonis mollis et corpori similis animus; et 22
intimi libertorum servorumque, corruptius quam in privata domo habiti, aulam Neronis et luxus, adulteria matrimonia ceterasque regnorum libidines avido talium, si auderet, ut sua ostentantes, quiescenti ut aliena exprobrabant, urguentibus etiam mathematicis, dum novos motus et clarum Othoni annum observatione siderum adfirmant, genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur. Multos secreta Poppaeae mathematicos, pessimum principalis matrimonii instrumentum, habuerant; e quibus Ptolemaeus Othoni in Hispania comes, cum superfuturum eum Neroni promisisset, postquam ex eventu fides, coniectura iam et rumore senium Galbae et iuventam Othonis computantium persuaserat fore ut in imperium adsciscetur. Sed Otho tanquam peritia et

monitu fatorum praedicta accipiebat, cupidine ingenii humani libentius obscura credendi. Nec deerat Ptolemaeus, iam et sceleris instinctor, ad quod facillime ab eius modi voto transitur.

23 Sed sceleris cogitatio incertum an repens: studia militum iam pridem spe successionis aut paratu facinoris adfectaverat, in itinere, in agmine, in stationibus vetustissimum quemque militum nomine vocans ac memoria Neroniani comitatus contubernales appellando; alios adgnoscere, quosdam requirere et pecunia aut gratia iuvare, inserendo saepius querellas et ambiguos de Galba sermones, quaeque alia turbamenta vulgi. Labores itinerum, inopia commeatuum, duritia imperii atrocius accipiebantur, cum Campaniae lacus et Achaiae urbes classibus adire soliti Pyrenaeum et Alpes et inmensa viarum spatia aegre sub armis eniterentur.

24 Flagrantibus iam militum animis velut faces addiderat Maevius Pudens, e proximis Tigellini. Is mobilissimum quemque ingenio aut pecuniae indigum et in novas cupiditates praecipitem adliciendo eo paulatim progressus est, ut per speciem convivii, quotiens Galba apud Othonem epularetur, cohorti excubias agenti viritim centenos nummos divideret; quam velut publicam largitionem Otho secretioribus apud singulos praemiis intendebat, adeo animosus corruptor, ut Cocceio Proculo speculatori, de parte finium cum vicino ambigenti, universum vicini agrum sua pecunia emptum dono dederit, per socordiam praefecti, quem nota pariter et occulta fallebant.

25 Sed tum e libertis Onomastum futuro sceleri praefecit, a quo Barbium Proculum tesserarium speculatorum et Veturium optionem eorundem perductos, postquam vario sermone callidos audacesque cognovit, pretio et promissis

onerat, data pecunia ad pertemptandos plurium animos. Suscepere duo manipulares imperium populi Romani transferendum, et transtulerunt. In conscientiam facinoris pauci adsciti: suspensos ceterorum animos diversis artibus stimulant, primores militum per beneficia Nymphidi ut suspectos, vulgus et ceteros ira et desperatione dilati totiens donativi. Erant quos memoria Neronis ac desiderium prioris licentiae accenderet: in commune omnes metu mutandae militiae terrebantur.

Infecit ea tabes legionum quoque et auxiliorum motas **26** iam mentes, postquam vulgatum erat labare Germanici exercitus fidem; adeoque parata apud malos seditio, etiam apud integros dissimulatio fuit, ut postero iduum die redeuntem a cena Othonem rapturi fuerint, ni incerta noctis et tota urbe sparsa militum castra nec facilem inter temulentos consensum timuissent, non rei publicae cura, quam foedare principis sui sanguine sobrii parabant, sed ne per tenebras, ut quisque Pannonici vel Germanici exercitus militibus oblatus esset, ignorantibus plerisque, pro Othone destinaretur. Multa erumpentis seditionis indicia per conscios oppressa: quaedam apud Galbae aures praefectus Laco elusit, ignarus militarium animorum consiliique quamvis egregii, quod non ipse adferret, inimicus et adversus peritos pervicax.

Octavo decimo kalendas Februarias sacrificanti pro **27** aede Apollinis Galbae haruspex Umbricius tristia exta et instantes insidias ac domesticum hostem praedicit, audiente Othone (nam proximus adstiterat) idque ut laetum e contrario et suis cogitationibus prosperum interpretante. Nec multo post libertus Onomastus nuntiat expectari eum ab architecto et redemptoribus, quae significatio coëuntium iam militum et paratae coniurationis convenerat. Otho

causam digressus requirentibus cum emi sibi praedia vetustate suspecta eoque prius exploranda finxisset, innixus liberto per Tiberianam domum in Velabrum, inde ad miliarium aureum sub aedem Saturni pergit. Ibi tres et viginti speculatores consalutatum imperatorem ac paucitate salutantium trepidum et sellae festinanter impositum strictis mucronibus rapiunt; totidem ferme milites in itinere adgregantur, alii conscientia, plerique miraculo, pars clamore et gaudiis, pars silentio, animum ex eventu sumpturi.

28 Stationem in castris agebat Iulius Martialis tribunus. Is magnitudine subiti sceleris, an corrupta latius castra et, si contra tenderet, exitium metuens, praebuit plerisque suspicionem conscientiae; anteposuere ceteri quoque tribuni centurionesque praesentia dubiis et honestis, isque habitus animorum fuit ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.

29 Ignarus interim Galba et sacris intentus fatigabat alieni iam imperii deos, cum adfertur rumor rapi in castra incertum quem senatorem, mox Othonem esse qui raperetur; simul ex tota urbe, ut quisque obvius fuerat, alii formidine augentes, quidam minora vero, ne tum quidem obliti adulationis. Igitur consultantibus placuit pertemptari animum cohortis quae in Palatio stationem agebat, nec per ipsum Galbam, cuius integra auctoritas maioribus remediis servabatur. Piso pro gradibus domus vocatos in hunc modum adlocutus est: 'Sextus dies agitur, commilitones, ex quo ignarus futuri, et sive optandum hoc nomen sive timendum erat, Caesar adscitus sum, quo domus nostrae aut rei publicae fato, in vestra manu positum est; non quia meo nomine tristiorem casum paveam, ut qui adversas res expertus cum maxime discam ne secundas quidem minus discriminis habere: patris et

senatus et ipsius imperii vicem doleo, si nobis aut perire hodie necesse est aut, quod aeque apud bonos miserum est, occidere. Solacium proximi motus habebamus incruentam urbem et res sine discordia translatas: provisum adoptione videbatur ut ne post Galbam quidem bello locus esset.'

'Nihi ladrogabo mihi nobilitatis aut modestiae; neque **30** enim relatu virtutum in comparatione Othonis opus est. Vitia, quibus solis gloriatur, evertere imperium etiam cum amicum imperatoris ageret. Habitune et incessu an illo muliebri ornatu mereretur imperium? Falluntur quibus luxuria specie liberalitatis inponit: perdere iste sciet, donare nesciet. Stupra nunc et comissationes et feminarum coetus volvit animo: haec principatus praemia putat, quorum libido ac voluptas penes ipsum sit, rubor ac dedecus penes omnes. Nemo enim umquam imperium flagitio quaesitum bonis artibus exercuit. Galbam consensus generis humani, me Galba consentientibus vobis Caesarem dixit. Si res publica et senatus et populus vacua nomina sunt, vestra, commilitones, interest ne imperatorem pessimi faciant. Legionum seditio adversus duces suos audita est aliquando: vestra fides famaque inlaesa ad hunc diem mansit. Et Nero quoque vos destituit, non vos Neronem. Minus triginta transfugae et desertores, quos centurionem aut tribunum sibi eligentes nemo ferret, imperium adsignabunt? Admittitis exemplum et quiescendo commune crimen facitis? Transcendet haec licentia in provincias, et ad nos scelerum exitus, bellorum ad vos pertinebunt. Nec est plus quod pro caede principis quam quod innocentibus datur, sed perinde a nobis donativum ob fidem quam ab aliis pro facinore accipietis.'

31 Dilapsis speculatoribus cetera cohors non aspernata contionantem, ut turbidis rebus evenit, forte magis et nullo adhuc consilio rapit signa *quam*, quod postea creditum est, insidiis et simulatione. Missus et Celsus Marius ad electos Illyrici exercitus Vipsania in porticu tendentes; praeceptum Amulio Sereno et Domitio Sabino primipilaribus, ut Germanicos milites e Libertatis atrio accerserent. Legioni classicae diffidebatur, infestae ob caedem commilitonum, quos primo statim introitu trucidaverat Galba. Pergunt etiam in castra praetorianorum tribuni Cetrius Severus, Subrius Dexter, Pompeius Longinus, si incipiens adhuc et necdum adulta seditio melioribus consiliis flecteretur. Tribunorum Subrium et Cetrium adorti milites minis, Longinum manibus coërcent exarmantque, quia non ordine militiae, sed e Galbae amicis, fidus principi suo et desciscentibus suspectior erat. Legio classica nihil cunctata praetorianis adiungitur: Illyrici exercitus electi Celsum infestis pilis proturbant. Germanica vexilla diu nutavere, invalidis adhuc corporibus et placatis animis, quod eos a Nerone Alexandriam praemissos atque inde rursus longa navigatione aegros inpensiore cura Galba refovebat.

32 Universa iam plebs Palatium implebat, mixtis servitiis et dissono clamore caedem Othonis et coniuratorum exitium poscentium, ut si in circo aut theatro ludicrum aliquod postularent: neque illis iudicium aut veritas, quippe eodem die diversa pari certamine postulaturis, sed tradito more quemcunque principem adulandi licentia adclamationum et studiis inanibus.

Interim Galbam duae sententiae distinebant. Titus Vinius manendum intra domum, opponenda servitia, firmandos aditus, non eundum ad iratos censebat: daret

malorum paenitentiae, daret bonorum consensui spatium: scelera impetu, bona consilia mora valescere; denique eundi ultro, si ratio sit, eandem mox facultatem, regressus, si paeniteat, in aliena potestate.

Festinandum ceteris videbatur, antequam cresceret **33** invalida adhuc coniuratio paucorum: trepidaturum etiam Othonem, qui furtim digressus, ad ignaros inlatus, cunctatione nunc et segnitia terentium tempus imitari principem discat. Non expectandum ut compositis castris forum invadat et prospectante Galba Capitolium adeat, dum egregius imperator cum fortibus amicis ianua ac limine tenus domum cludit, obsidionem nimirum toleraturus. Et praeclarum in servis auxilium, si consensus tantae multitudinis et, quae plurimum valet, prima indignatio elanguescat. Perinde intuta quae indecora; vel si cadere necesse sit, occurrendum discrimini: id Othoni invidiosius et ipsis honestum. Repugnantem huic sententiae Vinium Laco minaciter invasit, stimulante Icelo privati odii pertinacia in publicum exitium.

Nec diutius Galba cunctatus speciosiora suadentibus **34** accessit. Praemissus tamen in castra Piso, ut iuvenis magno nomine, recenti favore et infensus Tito Vinio, seu quia erat seu quia irati ita volebant; et facilius de odio creditur. Vixdum egresso Pisone occisum in castris Othonem vagus primum et incertus rumor; mox, ut in magnis mendaciis, interfuisse se quidam et vidisse adfirmabant, credula fama inter gaudentes et incuriosos. Multi arbitrabantur compositum auctumque rumorem mixtis iam Othonianis, qui ad evocandum Galbam laeta falso vulgaverint.

Tum vero non populus tantum et imperita plebs in **35** plausus et inmodica studia, sed equitum plerique ac

senatorum, posito metu incauti, refractis Palatii foribus ruere intus ac se Galbae ostentare, praereptam sibi ultionem querentes; ignavissimus quisque et, ut res docuit, in periculo non ausurus nimii verbis, linguae feroces; nemo scire et omnes adfirmare, donec inopia veri et consensu errantium victus sumpto thorace Galba inruenti turbae neque aetate neque corpore resistens sella levaretur. Obvius in Palatio Iulius Atticus speculator cruentum gladium ostentans occisum a se Othonem exclamavit; et Galba 'commilito,' inquit, 'quis iussit?' insigni animo ad coërcendam militarem licentiam, minantibus intrepidus, adversus blandientes incorruptus.

36 Haud dubiae iam in castris omnium mentes tantusque ardor ut non contenti agmine et corporibus in suggestu, in quo paulo ante aurea Galbae statua fuerat, medium inter signa Othonem vexillis circumdarent. Nec tribunis aut centurionibus adeundi locus: gregarius miles caveri insuper praepositos iubebat. Strepere cuncta clamoribus et tumultu et exhortatione mutua, non tanquam in populo ac plebe, variis segni adulatione vocibus, sed ut quemque adfluentium militum adspexerant, prensare manibus, complecti armis, conlocare iuxta, praeire sacramentum, modo imperatorem militibus, modo milites imperatori commendare. Nec deerat Otho protendens manus adorare vulgus, iacere oscula et omnia serviliter pro dominatione. Postquam universa classicorum legio sacramentum eius accepit, fidens viribus, et quos adhuc singulos extimulaverat, accendendos in commune ratus pro vallo castrorum ita coepit:

37 'Quis ad vos processerim, commilitones, dicere non possum, quia nec privatum me vocare sustineo princeps a vobis nominatus, nec principem alio imperante. Vestrum

quoque nomen in incerto erit, donec dubitabitur, imperatorem populi Romani in castris an hostem habeatis. Auditisne ut poena mea et supplicium vestrum simul postulentur? Adeo manifestum est neque perire nos neque salvos esse nisi una posse; et cuius lenitatis est Galba, iam fortasse promisit, ut qui nullo exposcente tot milia innocentissimorum militum trucidaverit. Horror animum subit, quotiens recordor feralem introitum et hanc solam Galbae victoriam, cum in oculis urbis decumari deditos iuberet, quos deprecantes in fidem acceperat. His auspiciis urbem ingressus, quam gloriam ad principatum attulit nisi occisi Obultronii Sabini et Cornelii Marcelli in Hispania, Betui Cilonis in Gallia, Fontei Capitonis in Germania, Clodii Macri in Africa, Cingonii in via, Turpiliani in urbe, Nymphidii in castris? Quae usquam provincia, quae castra sunt nisi cruenta et maculata aut, ut ipse praedicat, emendata et correcta? Nam quae alii scelera, hic remedia vocat, dum falsis nominibus severitatem pro saevitia, parsimoniam pro avaritia, supplicia et contumelias vestras disciplinam appellat. Septem a Neronis fine menses sunt, et iam plus rapuit Icelus quam quod Polycliti et Vatinii et Aegiali perdiderunt. Minore avaritia ac licentia grassatus esset T. Vinius, si ipse imperasset: nunc et subiectos nos habuit tanquam suos et viles ut alienos. Una illa domus sufficit donativo, quod vobis numquam datur et cotidie exprobratur.'

38 'Ac ne qua saltem in successore Galbae spes esset, accersivit ab exilio quem tristitia et avaritia sui simillimum iudicabat. Vidistis, commilitones, notabili tempestate etiam deos infaustam adoptionem aversantes. Idem senatus, idem populi Romani animus est: vestra virtus expectatur, apud quos omne honestis consiliis robur et

sine quibus quamvis egregia invalida sunt. Non ad bellum vos nec ad periculum voco: omnium militum arma nobiscum sunt. Nec una cohors togata defendit nunc Galbam, sed detinet: cum vos aspexerit, cum signum meum acceperit, hoc solum erit certamen, quis mihi plurimum inputet. Nullus cunctationis locus est in eo consilio quod non potest laudari nisi peractum.' Aperire deinde armamentarium iussit. Rapta statim arma, sine more et ordine militiae, ut praetorianus aut legionarius insignibus suis distingueretur: miscentur auxiliaribus galeis scutisque, nullo tribunorum centurionumve adhortante, sibi quisque dux et instigator; et praecipuum pessimorum incitamentum quod boni maerebant.

39 Iam exterritus Piso fremitu crebrescentis seditionis et vocibus in urbem usque resonantibus egressum interim Galbam et foro appropinquantem adsecutus erat; iam Marius Celsus haud laeta rettulerat, cum alii in Palatium redire, alii Capitolium petere, plerique rostra occupanda censerent, plures tantum sententiis aliorum contra dicerent, utque evenit in consiliis infelicibus, optima viderentur quorum tempus effugerat. Agitasse Laco ignaro Galba de occidendo Tito Vinio dicitur, sive ut poena eius animos militum mulceret, seu conscium Othonis credebat, ad postremum vel odio. Haesitationem attulit tempus ac locus, quia initio caedis orto difficilis modus; et turbavere consilium trepidi nuntii ac proximorum diffugia, languentibus omnium studiis, qui primo alacres fidem atque animum ostentaverant.

40 Agebatur huc illuc Galba vario turbae fluctuantis inpulsu, completis undique basilicis ac templis, lugubri prospectu. Neque populi aut plebis ulla vox, sed attoniti vultus et conversae ad omnia aures; non tumultus, non

quies, quale magni metus et magnae irae silentium est. Othoni tamen armari plebem nuntiabatur; ire praecipites et occupare pericula iubet. Igitur milites Romani, quasi Vologaesum aut Pacorum avito Arsacidarum solio depulsuri ac non imperatorem suum inermem et senem trucidare pergerent, disiecta plebe, proculcato senatu, truces armis, rapidi equis forum irrumpunt. Nec illos Capitolii aspectus et inminentium templorum religio et priores et futuri principes terruere quo minus facerent scelus cuius ultor est quisquis successit.

41 Viso comminus armatorum agmine vexillarius comitatae Galbam cohortis (Atilium Vergilionem fuisse tradunt) dereptam Galbae imaginem solo adflixit: eo signo manifesta in Othonem omnium militum studia, desertum fuga populi forum, destricta adversus dubitantes tela. Iuxta Curtii lacum trepidatione ferentium Galba proiectus e sella ac provolutus est. Extremam eius vocem, ut cuique odium aut admiratio fuit, varie prodidere: alii suppliciter interrogasse quid mali meruisset, paucos dies exsolvendo donativo deprecatum; plures obtulisse ultro percussoribus iugulum: agerent ac ferirent, si ita *e* re publica videretur. Non interfuit occidentium quid diceret. De percussore non satis constat: quidam Terentium evocatum, alii Laecanium; crebrior fama tradidit Camurium quintae decumae legionis militem inpresso gladio iugulum eius hausisse. Ceteri crura brachiaque (nam pectus tegebatur) foede laniavere; pleraque vulnera feritate et saevitia trunco iam corpori adiecta.

42 Titum inde Vinium invasere; de quo et ipso ambigitur, consumpseritne vocem eius instans metus, an proclamaverit non esse ab Othone mandatum ut occideretur. Quod seu finxit formidine, seu conscientiam coniurationis

confessus est, huc potius eius vita famaque inclinat, ut conscius sceleris fuerit cuius causa erat. Ante aedem divi Iulii iacuit primo ictus in poplitem, mox ab Iulio Caro legionario milite in utrumque latus transverberatus.

43 Insignem illa die virum Sempronium Densum aetas nostra vidit. Centurio is praetoriae cohortis, a Galba custodiae Pisonis additus, stricto pugione occurrens armatis et scelus exprobrans ac modo manu modo voce vertendo in se percussores quanquam vulnerato Pisoni effugium dedit. Piso in aedem Vestae pervasit, exceptusque misericordia publici servi et contubernio eius abditus non religione nec caerimoniis sed latebra inminens exitium differebat, cum advenere missu Othonis nominatim in caedem eius ardentis Sulpicius Florus e Britannicis cohortibus, nuper a Galba civitate donatus, et Staius Murcus speculator, a quibus protractus Piso in foribus templi trucidatur.

44 Nullam caedem Otho maiore laetitia excepisse, nullum caput tam insatiabilibus oculis perlustrasse dicitur, seu tum primum levata omni sollicitudine mens vacare gaudio coeperat, seu recordatio maiestatis in Galba, amicitiae in Tito Vinio quamvis inmitem animum imagine tristi confuderat: Pisonis ut inimici et aemuli caede laetari ius fasque credebat. Praefixa contis capita gestabantur inter signa cohortium iuxta aquilam legionis, certatim ostentantibus cruentas manus qui occiderant, qui interfuerant, qui vere qui falso ut pulchrum et memorabile facinus iactabant. Plures quam centum viginti libellos praemium exposcentium ob aliquam notabilem illa die operam Vitellius postea invenit, omnesque conquiri et interfici iussit, non honori Galbae, sed tradito principibus more, munimentum ad praesens, in posterum ultionem.

Alium crederes senatum, alium populum: ruere cuncti **45**
in castra, anteire proximos, certare cum praecurrentibus, increpare Galbam, laudare militum iudicium, exosculari Othonis manum; quantoque magis falsa erant quae fiebant, tanto plura facere. Nec aspernabatur singulos Otho, avidum et minacem militum animum voce vultuque temperans. Marium Celsum consulem designatum et Galbae usque in extremas res amicum fidumque *ad* supplicium expostulabant, industriae eius innocentiaeque quasi malis artibus infensi. Caedis et praedarum initium et optimo cuique perniciem quaeri apparebat, sed Othoni nondum auctoritas inerat ad prohibendum scelus: iubere iam poterat. Ita simulatione irae vinciri iussum et maiores poenas daturum adfirmans praesenti exitio subtraxit.

Omnia deinde arbitrio militum acta: praetorii prae- **46**
fectos sibi ipsi legere, Plotium Firmum e manipularibus quondam, tum vigilibus praepositum et incolumi adhuc Galba partes Othonis secutum; adiungitur Licinius Proculus, intima familiaritate Othonis suspectus consilia eius fovisse. Urbi Flavium Sabinum praefecere, iudicium Neronis secuti, sub quo eandem curam obtinuerat, plerisque Vespasianum fratrem in eo respicientibus. Flagitatum ut vacationes praestari centurionibus solitae remitterentur; namque gregarius miles ut tributum annuum pendebat. Quarta pars manipuli sparsa per commeatus aut in ipsis castris vaga, dum mercedem centurioni exsolveret, neque modum oneris quisquam neque genus quaestus pensi habebat: per latrocinia et raptus aut servilibus ministeriis militare otium redimebant. Tum locupletissimus quisque miles labore ac saevitia fatigari, donec vacationem emeret. Ubi sumptibus exhaustus

socordia insuper elanguerat, inops pro locuplete et iners pro strenuo in manipulum redibat, ac rursus alius atque alius eadem egestate ac licentia corrupti ad seditiones et discordias et ad extremum bella civilia ruebant. Sed Otho ne vulgi largitione centurionum animos averteret, fiscum suum vacationes annuas exsoluturum promisit, rem haud dubie utilem et a bonis postea principibus perpetuitate disciplinae firmatam. Laco praefectus, tanquam in insulam seponeretur, ab evocato, quem ad caedem eius Otho praemiserat, confossus; in Marcianum Icelum ut in libertum palam animadversum.

47 Exacto per scelera die novissimum malorum fuit laetitia. Vocat senatum praetor urbanus, certant adulationibus ceteri magistratus, adcurrunt patres: decernitur Othoni tribunicia potestas et nomen Augusti et omnes principum honores, adnitentibus cunctis abolere convicia ac probra, quae promiscue iacta haesisse animo eius nemo sensit: omisisset offensas an distulisset, brevitate imperii in incerto fuit. Otho cruento adhuc foro per stragem iacentium in Capitolium atque inde in Palatium vectus concedi corpora sepulturae cremarique permisit. Pisonem Verania uxor ac frater Scribonianus, Titum Vinium Crispina filia composuere, quaesitis redemptisque capitibus, quae venalia interfectores servaverant.

48 Piso unum et tricensimum aetatis annum explebat, fama meliore quam fortuna. Fratres eius Magnum Claudius, Crassum Nero interfecerant: ipse diu exul, quadriduo Caesar, properata adoptione ad hoc tantum maiori fratri praelatus est, ut prior occideretur. Titus Vinius quinquaginta septem annos variis moribus egit. Pater illi praetoria familia, maternus avus e proscriptis. Prima militia infamis: legatum Calvisium Sabinum habuerat,

cuius uxor mala cupidine visendi situm castrorum per noctem militari habitu ingressa, cum vigilias et cetera militiae munia eadem lascivia temptasset, in ipsis principiis stuprum ausa est: criminis huius reus Titus Vinius arguebatur. Igitur iussu C. Caesaris oneratus catenis, mox mutatione temporum dimissus, cursu honorum inoffenso legioni post praeturam praepositus probatusque, servili deinceps probro respersus est, tanquam scyphum aureum in convivio Claudii furatus, et Claudius postera die soli omnium Vinio fictilibus ministrari iussit. Sed inius proconsulatu Galliam Narbonensem severe integreque rexit; mox Galbae amicitia in abruptum tractus, audax callidus promptus et, prout animum intendisset, pravus aut industrius eadem vi. Testamentum Titi Vini magnitudine opum inritum, Pisonis supremam voluntatem paupertas firmavit.

Galbae corpus diu neglectum et licentia tenebrarum 49
plurimis ludibriis vexatum dispensator Argius e primoribus servis humili sepultura in privatis eius hortis contexit. Caput per lixas calonesque suffixum laceratumque ante Patrobii tumulum (libertus is Neronis punitus a Galba fuerat) postera demum die repertum et cremato iam corpori admixtum est. Hunc exitum habuit Servius Galba, tribus et septuaginta annis quinque principes prospera fortuna emensus et alieno imperio felicior quam suo. Vetus in familia nobilitas, magnae opes: ipsi medium ingenium, magis extra vitia quam cum virtutibus. Famae nec incuriosus nec venditator; pecuniae alienae non appetens, suae parcus, publicae avarus; amicorum libertorumque, ubi in bonos incidisset, sine reprehensione patiens, si mali forent, usque ad culpam ignarus. Sed claritas natalium et metus temporum obtentui, ut, quod segnitia

erat, sapientia vocaretur. Dum vigebat aetas, militari laude apud Germanias floruit. Pro consule Africam moderate, iam senior citeriorem Hispaniam pari iustitia continuit, maior privato visus, dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset.

50 Trepidam urbem ac simul atrocitatem recentis sceleris, simul veteres Othonis mores paventem novus insuper de Vitellio nuntius exterruit, ante caedem Galbae suppressus, ut tantum superioris Germaniae exercitus descivisse crederetur. Tum duos omnium mortalium inpudicitia ignavia luxuria deterrimos velut ad perdendum imperium fataliter electos non senatus modo et eques, quis aliqua pars et cura rei publicae, sed vulgus quoque palam maerere. Nec iam recentia saevae pacis exempla, sed repetita bellorum civilium memoria captam totiens suis exercitibus urbem, vastitatem Italiae, direptiones provinciarum, Pharsaliam Philippos et Perusiam ac Mutinam, nota publicarum cladium nomina, loquebantur. Prope eversum orbem, etiam cum de principatu inter bonos certaretur, sed mansisse C. Iulio, mansisse Caesare Augusto victore imperium; mansuram fuisse sub Pompeio Brutoque rem publicam. Nunc pro Othone an pro Vitellio in templa ituros? Utrasque inpias preces, utraque detestanda vota inter duos, quorum bello solum id scires, deteriorem fore qui vicisset. Erant qui Vespasianum et arma Orientis augurarentur, et ut potior utroque Vespasianus, ita bellum aliud atque alias clades horrebant. Et ambigua de Vespasiano fama, solusque omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est.

51 Nunc initia causasque motus Vitelliani expediam. Caeso cum omnibus copiis Iulio Vindice ferox praeda gloriaque exercitus, ut cui sine labore ac periculo ditissimi

belli victoria evenisset, expeditionem et aciem, praemia quam stipendia malebat. Diu infructuosam et asperam militiam toleraverant ingenio loci caelique et severitate disciplinae, quam in pace inexorabilem discordiae civium resolvunt, paratis utrimque corruptoribus et perfidia impunita. Viri arma equi ad usum et ad decus supererant. Sed ante bellum centurias tantum suas turmasque noverant; exercitus finibus provinciarum discernebantur: tum adversus Vindicem contractae legiones, seque et Gallias expertae, quaerere rursum arma novasque discordias; nec socios, ut olim, sed hostes et victos vocabant. Nec deerat pars Galliarum, quae Rhenum accolit, easdem partes secuta ac tum acerrima instigatrix adversum Galbianos; hoc enim nomen fastidito Vindice indiderant. Igitur Sequanis Aeduisque ac deinde, prout opulentia civitatibus erat, infensi expugnationes urbium, populationes agrorum, raptus penatium hauserant animo, super avaritiam et adrogantiam, praecipua validiorum vitia, contumacia Gallorum inritati, qui remissam sibi a Galba quartam tributorum partem et publice donatos in ignominiam exercitus iactabant. Accessit callide vulgatum, temere creditum, decumari legiones et promptissimum quemque centurionum dimitti. Undique atroces nuntii, sinistra ex urbe fama; infensa Lugudunensis colonia et pertinaci pro Nerone fide fecunda rumoribus. Sed plurima ad fingendum credendumque materies in ipsis castris, odio metu et, ubi vires suas respexerant, securitate.

52 Sub ipsas superioris anni kalendas Decembres Aulus Vitellius inferiorem Germaniam ingressus hiberna legionum cum cura adierat: redditi plerisque ordines, remissa ignominia, adlevatae notae; plura ambitione, quaedam iudicio, in quibus sordes et avaritiam Fontei Capitonis

adimendis adsignandisve militiae ordinibus integre mutaverat. Nec consularis legati mensura, sed in maius omnia accipiebantur; et *ut* Vitellius apud severos humilis, ita comitatem bonitatemque faventes vocabant, quod sine modo, sine iudicio donaret sua, largiretur aliena; simul aviditate imperi *d*andi ipsa vitia pro virtutibus interpretabantur. Multi in utroque exercitu sicut modesti quietique, ita mali et strenui. Sed profusa cupidine et insigni temeritate legati legionum Alienus Caecina et Fabius Valens; e quibus Valens infensus Galbae, tanquam detectam a se Verginii cunctationem, oppressa Capitonis consilia ingrate tulisset, instigare Vitellium, ardorem militum ostentans: ipsum celebri ubique fama, nullam in Flacco Hordeonio moram; adfore Britanniam, secutura Germanorum auxilia; male fidas provincias, precarium seni imperium et brevi transiturum: panderet modo sinum et venienti Fortunae occurreret. Merito dubitasse Verginium equestri familia, ignoto patre, inparem, si recepisset imperium, tutum, si recusasset: Vitellio tres patris consulatus censuram collegium Caesaris et inponere iam pridem imperatoris dignationem et auferre privati securitatem. Quatiebatur his segne ingenium, ut concupisceret magis quam ut speraret.

53 At in superiore Germania Caecina decorus iuventa, corpore ingens, animi inmodicus, scito sermone, erecto incessu, studia militum inlexerat. Hunc iuvenem Galba, quaestorem in Baetica inpigre in partes suas transgressum, legioni praeposuit; mox compertum publicam pecuniam avertisse ut peculatorem flagitari iussit. Caecina aegre passus miscere cuncta et privata vulnera rei publicae malis operire statuit. Nec deerant in exercitu semina discordiae, quod et bello adversus Vindicem universus

adfuerat, nec nisi occiso Nerone translatus in Galbam atque in eo ipso sacramento vexillis inferioris Germaniae praeventus erat. Et Treveri ac Lingones, quasque alias civitates atrocibus edictis aut damno finium Galba perculerat, hibernis legionum propius miscentur; unde seditiosa colloquia et inter paganos corruptior miles, et in Verginium favor cuicumque alii profuturus.

Miserat civitas Lingonum vetere instituto dona legioni- **54**
bus dextras, hospitii insigne. Legati eorum in squalorem maestitiamque compositi per principia per contubernia modo suas iniurias, modo vicinarum civitatium praemia, et ubi pronis militum auribus accipiebantur, ipsius exercitus pericula et contumelias conquerentes accendebant animos; nec procul seditione aberant, cum Hordeonius Flaccus abire legatos, utque occultior digressus esset, nocte castris excedere iubet. Inde atrox rumor, adfirmantibus plerisque interfectos, ac ni sibi ipsi consulerent, fore ut acerrimi militum et praesentia conquesti per tenebras et inscitiam ceterorum occiderentur. Obstringuntur inter se tacito foedere legiones, adsciscitur auxiliorum miles, primo suspectus, tanquam circumdatis cohortibus alisque impetus in legiones pararetur, mox eadem acrius volvens, faciliore inter malos consensu ad bellum quam in pace ad concordiam.

Inferioris tamen Germaniae legiones sollemni kalenda- **55**
rum Ianuariarum sacramento pro Galba adactae, multa cunctatione et raris primorum ordinum vocibus, ceteri silentio proximi cuiusque audaciam exspectantes, insita mortalibus natura propere sequi quae piget incohare. Sed ipsis legionibus inerat diversitas animorum: primani quintanique turbidi adeo ut quidam saxa in Galbae imagines iecerint: quinta decuma ac sexta decuma legiones

nihil ultra fremitum et minas ausae initium erumpendi circumspectabant.

At in superiore exercitu quarta et duoetvicensima legiones, isdem hibernis tendentes, ipso kalendarum Ianuariarum die dirumpunt imagines Galbae, quarta legio promptius, duoetvicensima cunctanter, nox consensu. Ac ne reverentiam imperii exuere viderentur, senatus populique Romani oblitterata iam nomina sacramento advocabant, nullo legatorum tribunorumve pro Galba nitente, quibusdam, ut in tumultu, notabilius turbantibus. Non tamen quisquam in modum contionis aut suggestu locutus; neque enim erat adhuc cui inputaretur.

56 Spectator flagitii Hordeonius Flaccus consularis legatus aderat, non compescere ruentes, non retinere dubios, non cohortari bonos ausus, sed segnis pavidus et socordia innocens. Quattuor centuriones duoetvicensimae legionis, Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, Calpurnius Repentinus, cum protegerent Galbae imagines, impetu militum abrepti vinctique. Nec cuiquam ultra fides aut memoria prioris sacramenti, sed quod in seditionibus accidit, unde plures erant, omnes fuere.

Nocte quae kalendas Ianuarias secuta est, in coloniam Agrippinensem aquilifer quartae legionis epulanti Vitellio nuntiat, quartam et duoetvicensimam legiones proiectis Galbae imaginibus in senatus ac populi Romani verba iurasse. Id sacramentum inane visum: occupari nutantem fortunam et offerri principem placuit. Missi a Vitellio ad legiones legatosque qui descivisse a Galba superiorem exercitum nuntiarent: proinde aut bellandum adversus desciscentes aut, si concordia et pax placeat, faciendum imperatorem; et minore discrimine sumi principem quam quaeri.

Proxima legionis primae hiberna erant et promptissi- 57
mus e legatis Fabius Valens. Is die proximo coloniam Agrippinensem cum equitibus legionis auxiliariorumque ingressus imperatorem Vitellium consalutavit. Secutae ingenti certamine eiusdem provinciae legiones; et superior exercitus, speciosis senatus populique Romani nominibus relictis, tertio nonas Ianuarias Vitellio accessit: scires illum priore biduo non penes rem publicam fuisse. Ardorem exercituum Agrippinenses Treveri Lingones aequabant, auxilia equos, arma pecuniam offerentes, ut quisque corpore opibus ingenio validus. Nec principes modo coloniarum aut castrorum, quibus praesentia ex affluenti et parta victoria magnae spes, sed manipuli quoque et gregarius miles viatica sua et balteos phalerasque, insignia armorum argento decora, loco pecuniae tradebant instinctu et impetu, et avaritia.

Igitur laudata militum alacritate Vitellius ministeria 58
principatus per libertos agi solita in equites Romanos disponit, vacationes centurionibus ex fisco numerat, saevitiam militum plerosque ad poenam exposcentium saepius adprobat, raro simulatione vinculorum frustratur. Pompeius Propinquus procurator Belgicae statim interfectus; Iulium Burdonem Germanicae classis praefectum astu subtraxit. Exarserat in eum iracundia exercitus, tanquam crimen ac mox insidias Fonteio Capitoni struxisset. Grata erat memoria Capitonis, et apud saevientes occidere palam, ignoscere non nisi fallendo licebat: ita in custodia habitus et post victoriam demum, sedatis iam militum odiis, dimissus est. Interim ut piaculum obicitur centurio Crispinus: sanguine Capitonis *se* cruentaverat eoque et postulantibus manifestior et punienti vilior fuit.

59 Iulius deinde Civilis periculo exemptus, praepotens inter Batavos, ne supplicio eius ferox gens alienaretur. Et erant in civitate Lingonum octo Batavorum cohortes, quartae decumae legionis auxilia, tum discordia temporum a legione digressae, prout inclinassent, grande momentum sociae aut adversae. Nonium, Donatium, Romilium, Calpurnium centuriones, de quibus supra rettulimus, occidi iussit, damnatos fidei crimine, gravissimo inter desciscentes. Accessere partibus Valerius Asiaticus, Belgicae provinciae legatus, quem mox Vitellius generum adscivit, et Iunius Blaesus Lugudunensis Galliae rector cum Italica legione et ala Tauriana Luguduni tendentibus. Nec in Raeticis copiis mora, quo minus statim adiungerentur; ne in Britannia quidem dubitatum.

60 Praeerat Trebellius Maximus, per avaritiam ac sordes contemptus exercitui invisusque. Accendebat odium eius Roscius Coelius legatus vicensimae legionis, olim discors, sed occasione civilium armorum atrocius proruperant. Trebellius seditionem et confusum ordinem disciplinae Coelio, spoliatas et inopes legiones Coelius Trebellio obiectabat, cum interim foedis legatorum certaminibus modestia exercitus corrupta eoque discordiae ventum, ut auxiliarium quoque militum conviciis proturbatus et adgregantibus se Coelio cohortibus alisque desertus Trebellius ad Vitellium perfugerit. Quies provinciae quanquam remoto consulari mansit: rexere legati legionum, pares iure, Coelius audendo potentior.

61 Adiuncto Britannico exercitu ingens viribus opibusque Vitellius duos duces, duo itinera bello destinavit: Fabius Valens allicere vel, si abnuerent, vastare Gallias et Cottianis Alpibus Italiam inrumpere, Caecina propiore transitu Poeninis iugis degredi iussus. Valenti inferioris

exercitus electi cum aquila quintae legionis et cohortibus alisque, ad quadraginta milia armatorum, data: triginta milia Caecina e superiore Germania ducebat, quorum robur legio unaetvicensima fuit. Addita utrique Germanorum auxilia, e quibus Vitellius suas quoque copias supplevit, tota mole belli secuturus.

Mira inter exercitum imperatoremque diversitas: in- **62**
stare miles, arma poscere, dum Galliae trepident, dum Hispaniae cunctentur: non obstare hiemem neque ignavae pacis moras; invadendam Italiam, occupandam urbem; nihil in discordiis civilibus festinatione tutius, ubi facto magis quam consulto opus esset. Torpebat Vitellius et fortunam principatus inerti luxu ac prodigis epulis praesumebat, medio diei temulentus et sagina gravis, cum tamen ardor et vis militum ultro ducis munia implebat, ut si adesset imperator et strenuis vel ignavis spem metumve adderet. Instructi intentique signum profectionis exposcunt, nomine Germanici Vitellio statim addito: Caesarem se appellari etiam victor prohibuit. Laetum augurium Fabio Valenti exercituique quem in bellum agebat, ipso profectionis die aquila leni meatu, prout agmen incederet, velut dux viae praevolavit; longumque per spatium is gaudentium militum clamor, ea quies interritae alitis fuit, ut haud dubium magnae et prosperae rei omen acciperetur.

Et Treveros quidem ut socios securi adiere: Divo- **63**
duri (Mediomatricorum id oppidum est) quanquam omni comitate exceptos subitus pavor terruit, raptis repente armis ad caedem innoxiae civitatis, non ob praedam aut spoliandi cupidine, sed furore et rabie et causis incertis eoque difficilioribus remediis, donec precibus ducis mitigati ab excidio civitatis temperavere; caesa tamen ad

quattuor milia hominum. Isque terror Gallias invasit, ut venienti mox agmini universae civitates cum magistratibus et precibus occurrerent, stratis per vias feminis puerisque, quaeque alia placamenta hostilis irae non quidem in bello, sed pro pace tendebantur.

64 Nuntium de caede Galbae et imperio Othonis Fabius Valens in civitate Leucorum accepit. Nec militum animus in gaudium aut formidine permotus: bellum volvebat. Gallis cunctatio exempta est: in Othonem ac Vitellium odium par, ex Vitellio et metus. Proxima Lingonum civitas erat, fida partibus. Benigne excepti modestia certavere, sed brevis laetitia fuit cohortium intemperie, quas a legione quarta decuma, ut supra memoravimus, digressas exercitui suo Fabius Valens adiunxerat. Iurgia primum, mox rixa inter Batavos et legionarios, dum his aut illis studia militum adgregantur, prope in proelium exarsere, ni Valens animadversione paucorum oblitos iam Batavos imperii admonuisset. Frustra adversus Aeduos quaesita belli causa: iussi pecuniam atque arma deferre gratuitos insuper commeatus praebuere. Quod Aedui formidine, Lugudunenses gaudio fecere. Sed legio Italica et ala Tauriana abductae: cohortem duodevicensimam Luguduni, solitis sibi hibernis, relinqui placuit. Manlius Valens legatus Italicae legionis, quanquam bene de partibus meritus, nullo apud Vitellium honore fuit: secretis eum criminationibus infamaverat Fabius ignarum et, quo incautior deciperetur, palam laudatum.

65 Veterem inter Lugudunenses *et Viennenses* discordiam proximum bellum accenderat. Multae in vicem clades crebrius infestiusque quam ut tantum propter Neronem Galbamque pugnaretur. Et Galba reditus Lugudunensium occasione irae in fiscum verterat; multus contra in

Viennenses honor: unde aemulatio et invidia et uno amne discretis conexum odium. Igitur Lugudunenses extimulare singulos militum et in eversionem Viennensium impellere, obsessam ab illis coloniam suam, adiutos Vindicis conatus, conscriptas nuper legiones in praesidium Galbae referendo. Et ubi causas odiorum praetenderant, magnitudinem praedae ostendebant; nec iam secreta exhortatio, sed publicae preces: irent ultores, excinderent sedem Gallici belli; cuncta illic externa et hostilia: se, coloniam Romanam et partem exercitus et prosperarum adversarumque rerum socios, si fortuna contra daret, iratis ne relinquerent.

His et pluribus in eundem modum perpulerant, ut **66**
ne legati quidem ac duces partium restingui posse iracundiam exercitus arbitrarentur, cum haud ignari discriminis sui Viennenses, velamenta et infulas praeferentes, ubi agmen incesserat, arma genua vestigia prensando flexere militum animos; addidit Valens trecenos singulis militibus sestertios. Tum vetustas dignitasque coloniae valuit et verba Fabi salutem incolumitatemque Viennensium commendantis aequis auribus accepta; publice tamen armis multati, privatis et promiscuis copiis iuvere militem. Sed fama constans fuit ipsum Valentem magna pecunia emptum. Is diu sordidus, repente dives mutationem fortunae male tegebat, accensis egestate longa cupidinibus inmoderatus et inopi iuventa senex prodigus. Lento deinde agmine per fines Allobrogum ac Vocontiorum ductus exercitus, ipsa itinerum spatia et stativorum mutationes venditante duce foedis pactionibus adversus possessores agrorum et magistratus civitatum, adeo minaciter ut Luco (municipium id Vocontiorum est) faces admoverit, donec pecunia mitigaretur. Quotiens

pecuniae materia deesset, stupris et adulteriis exorabatur. Sic ad Alpes perventum.

67 Plus praedae ac sanguinis Caecina hausit. Inritaverant turbidum ingenium Helvetii, Gallica gens olim armis virisque, mox memoria nominis clara, de caede Galbae ignari et Vitellii imperium abnuentes. Initium bello fuit avaritia ac festinatio unaetvicensimae legionis: rapuerant pecuniam missam in stipendium castelli, quod olim Helvetii suis militibus ac stipendiis tuebantur. Aegre id passi Helvetii, interceptis epistulis, quae nomine Germanici exercitus ad Pannonicas legiones ferebantur, centurionem et quosdam militum in custodia retinebant. Caecina belli avidus proximam quamque culpam, antequam paeniteret, ultum ibat: mota propere castra, vastati agri, direptus longa pace in modum municipii exstructus locus, amoeno salubrium aquarum usu frequens; missi ad Raetica auxilia nuntii, ut versos in legionem Helvetios a tergo adgrederentur.

68 Illi ante discrimen feroces, in periculo pavidi, quanquam primo tumultu Claudium Severum ducem legerant, non arma noscere, non ordines sequi, non in unum consulere. Exitiosum adversus veteranos proelium, intuta obsidio dilapsis vetustate moenibus; hinc Caecina cum valido exercitu, inde Raeticae alae cohortesque et ipsorum Raetorum iuventus, sueta armis et more militiae exercita. Undique populatio et caedes; ipsi medio vagi, abiectis armis, magna pars saucii aut palantes, in montem Vocetium perfugere. Ac statim inmissa cohorte Thracum depulsi et consectantibus Germanis Raetisque per silvas atque in ipsis latebris trucidati. Multa hominum milia caesa, multa sub corona venundata; cumque dirutis omnibus Aventicum gentis caput infesto agmine peteretur,

missi qui dederent civitatem, et deditio accepta. In Iulium Alpinum e principibus ut concitorem belli Caecina animadvertit: ceteros veniae vel saevitiae Vitellii reliquit.

Haud facile dictu est, legati Helvetiorum minus pla- **69**
cabilem imperatorem an militem invenerint. Civitatis excidium poscunt, tela ac manus in ora legatorum intentant. Ne Vitellius quidem verbis ac minis temperabat, cum Claudius Cossus, unus e legatis, notae facundiae, sed dicendi artem apta trepidatione occultans atque eo validior, militis animum mitigavit. *Tum*, ut est mos, vulgus mutabile subitis, tam pronum in misericordiam quam immodicum saevitia fuerat: effusis lacrimis et meliora constantius postulando inpunitatem salutemque civitati inpetravere.

Caecina paucos in Helvetiis moratus dies, dum senten- **70**
tiae Vitellii certior fieret, simul transitum Alpium parans, laetum ex Italia nuntium accipit alam Silianam circa Padum agentem sacramento Vitellii accessisse. Pro consule Vitellium Siliani in Africa habuerant; mox a Nerone, ut in Ægyptum praemitterentur, acciti et ob bellum Vindicis revocati ac tum in Italia manentes, instinctu decurionum, qui Othonis ignari, Vitellio obstricti robur adventantium legionum et famam Germanici exercitus attollebant, transiere in partes, et ut donum aliquod novo principi firmissima transpadanae regionis municipia, Mediolanum ac Novariam et Eporediam et Vercellas, adiunxere. Id Caecinae per ipsos compertum; et quia praesidio alae unius latissima Italiae pars defendi nequibat, praemissis Gallorum Lusitanorumque et Britannorum cohortibus et Germanorum vexillis cum ala Petriana, ipse paulum cunctatus est, num Raeticis iugis in Noricum flecteret adversus Petronium Urbicum procuratorem, qui

concitis auxiliis et interruptis fluminum pontibus fidus Othoni putabatur. Sed metu, ne amitteret praemissas iam cohortes alasque, simul reputans plus gloriae retenta Italia, et ubicumque certatum foret, Noricos in cetera victoriae praemia cessuros, Poenino itinere subsignanum militem et grave legionum agmen hibernis adhuc Alpibus traduxit.

71 Otho interim contra spem omnium non deliciis neque desidia torpescere: dilatae voluptates, dissimulata luxuria et cuncta ad decorem imperii composita, eoque plus formidinis adferebant falsae virtutes et vitia reditura. Marium Celsum consulem designatum, per speciem vinculorum saevitiae militum subtractum, acciri in Capitolium iubet: clementiae titulus e viro claro et partibus inviso petebatur. Celsus constanter servatae erga Galbam fidei crimen confessus exemplum ultro imputavit. Nec Otho quasi ignosceret, sed testes mutuae reconciliationis adhibens, statim inter intimos amicos habuit et mox bello inter duces delegit, mansitque Celso velut fataliter etiam pro Othone fides integra et infelix. Laeta primoribus civitatis, celebrata in vulgus Celsi salus ne militibus quidem ingrata fuit, eandem virtutem admirantibus cui irascebantur.

72 Par inde exultatio disparibus causis consecuta impetrato Tigellini exitio. Ofonius Tigellinus obscuris parentibus, foeda pueritia, inpudica senecta, praefecturam vigilum et praetorii et alia praemia virtutum, quia velocius erat, vitiis adeptus, mox crudelitatem, deinde avaritiam, virilia scelera, exercuit, corrupto ad omne facinus Nerone, quaedam ignaro ausus, ac postremo eiusdem desertor ac proditor: unde non alium pertinacius ad poenam flagitaverunt, diverso adfectu, quibus odium Neronis inerat et quibus desiderium. Apud Galbam Titi Vinii potentia

defensus, praetexentis servatam ab eo filiam. Haud dubie servaverat, non clementia, quippe tot interfectis, sed effugium in futurum, quia pessimus quisque diffidentia praesentium mutationem pavens adversus publicum odium privatam gratiam praeparat; unde nulla innocentiae cura, sed vices impunitatis. Eo infensior populus, addita ad vetus Tigellini odium recenti Titi Vinii invidia, concurrere ex tota urbe in Palatium ac fora et, ubi plurima vulgi licentia, in circum ac theatra effusi seditiosis vocibus strepere, donec Tigellinus accepto apud Sinuessanas aquas supremae necessitatis nunito inter stupra concubinarum et oscula et deformes moras sectis novacula faucibus infamem vitam foedavit etiam exitu sero et inhonesto.

Per idem tempus expostulata ad supplicium Calvia **73** Crispinilla variis frustrationibus et adversa dissimulantis principis fama periculo exempta est. Magistra libidinum Neronis, transgressa in Africam ad instigandum in arma Clodium Macrum, famem populo Romano haud obscure molita, totius postea civitatis gratiam obtinuit, consulari matrimonio subnixa et apud Galbam Othonem Vitellium illaesa, mox potens pecunia et orbitate, quae bonis malisque temporibus iuxta valent.

Crebrae interim et muliebribus blandimentis infectae **74** ab Othone ad Vitellium epistulae offerebant pecuniam et gratiam et quemcumque e quietis locis prodigae vitae legisset. Paria Vitellius ostentabat, primo mollius, stulta utrimque et indecora simulatione; mox quasi rixantes stupra ac flagitia in vicem obiectavere, neuter falso. Otho revocatis quos Galba miserat legatis rursus ad utrumque Germanicum exercitum et ad legionem Italicam easque quae Luguduni agebant copias specie senatus misit.

Legati apud Vitellium remansere promptius quam ut retenti viderentur; praetoriani, quos per simulationem officii legatis Otho adiunxerat, remissi, antequam legionibus miscerentur. Addidit epistulas Fabius Valens nomine Germanici exercitus ad praetorias et urbanas cohortes de viribus partium magnificas et concordiam offerentes; increpabat ultro quod tanto ante traditum Vitellio imperium ad Othonem vertissent.

75 Ita promissis simul ac minis temptabantur, ut bello impares, in pace nihil amissuri; neque ideo praetorianorum fides mutata. Sed insidiatores ab Othone in Germaniam, a Vitellio in urbem missi. Utrisque frustra fuit, Vitellianis inpune, per tantam hominum multitudinem mutua ignorantia fallentibus: Othoniani novitate vultus, omnibus in vicem gnaris, prodebantur. Vitellius litteras ad Titianum fratrem Othonis composuit, exitium ipsi filioque eius minitans, ni incolumes sibi mater ac liberi servarentur. Et stetit domus utraque, sub Othone incertum an metu: Vitellius victor clementiae gloriam tulit.

76 Primus Othoni fiduciam addidit ex Illyrico nuntius, iurasse in eum Delmatiae ac Pannoniae et Moesiae legiones. Idem ex Hispania adlatum, laudatusque per edictum Cluvius Rufus: set statim cognitum est conversam ad Vitellium Hispaniam. Ne Aquitania quidem, quanquam ab Iulio Cordo in verba Othonis obstricta, diu mansit. Nusquam fides aut amor: metu ac necessitate huc illuc mutabantur. Eadem formido provinciam Narbonensem ad Vitellium vertit, facili transitu ad proximos et validiores. Longinquae provinciae et quidquid armorum mari dirimitur penes Othonem manebant, non partium studio, sed erat grande momentum in nomine urbis ac praetexto senatus, et occupaverat animos prior auditus. Iudaicum

exercitum Vespasianus, Syriae legiones Mucianus sacramento Othonis adegere; simul Aegyptus omnesque versae in Orientem provinciae nomine eius tenebantur. Idem Africae obsequium initio Karthagine orto; neque exspectata Vipstani Aproniani proconsulis auctoritate Crescens Neronis libertus (nam et hi malis temporibus partem se rei publicae faciunt) epulum plebi ob laetitiam recentis imperii obtulerat, et populus pleraque sine modo festinavit. Karthaginem ceterae civitates secutae.

Sic distractis exercitibus ac provinciis Vitellio quidem **77** ad capessendam principatus fortunam bello opus erat, Otho ut in multa pace munia imperii obibat, quaedam ex dignitate rei publicae, pleraque contra decus ex praesenti usu properando. Consul cum Titiano fratre in kalendas Martias ipse; proximos menses Verginio destinat ut aliquod exercitui Germanico delenimentum; iungitur Verginio Pompeius Vopiscus praetexto veteris amicitiae; plerique Viennensium honori datum interpretabantur. Ceteri consulatus ex destinatione Neronis aut Galbae mansere, Caelio ac Flavio Sabinis in Iulias, Arrio Antonino et Mario Celso in Septembres, quorum honoribus ne Vitellius quidem victor intercessit. Sed Otho pontificatus auguratusque honoratis iam senibus cumulum dignitatis addidit, aut recens ab exilio reversos nobiles adulescentulos avitis ac paternis sacerdotiis in solacium recoluit. Redditus Cadio Rufo, Pedio Blaeso, Scaevinio Propinquo senatorius locus. Repetundarum criminibus sub Claudio ac Nerone ceciderant: placuit ignoscentibus verso nomine, quod avaritia fuerat, videri maiestatem, cuius tum odio etiam bonae leges peribant.

Eadem largitione civitatium quoque ac provinciarum **78** animos adgressus Hispalensibus et Emeritensibus famili-

arum adiectiones, Lingonibus universis civitatem Romanam, provinciae Baeticae Maurorum civitates dono dedit; nova iura Cappadociae, nova Africae, ostentata magis quam mansura. Inter quae necessitate praesentium rerum et instantibus curis excusata, ne tum quidem inmemor amorum statuas Poppaeae per senatus consultum reposuit; creditus est etiam de celebranda Neronis memoria agitavisse spe vulgus alliciendi. Et fuere qui imagines Neronis proponerent; atque etiam Othoni quibusdam diebus populus et miles, tanquam nobilitatem ac decus adstruerent, Neroni Othoni adclamavit. Ipse in suspenso tenuit vetandi metu vel agnoscendi pudore.

79 Conversis ad civile bellum animis externa sine cura habebantur. Eo audentius Rhoxolani, Sarmatica gens, priore hieme caesis duabus cohortibus, magna spe Moesiam inruperant, ad novem milia equitum, ex ferocia et successu praedae magis quam pugnae intenta. Igitur vagos et incuriosos tertia legio adiunctis auxiliis repente invasit. Apud Romanos omnia proelio apta: Sarmatae dispersi cupidine praedae aut graves onere sarcinarum et lubrico itinerum adempta equorum pernicitate velut vincti caedebantur. Namque mirum dictu ut sit omnis Sarmatarum virtus velut extra ipsos. Nihil ad pedestrem pugnam tam ignavum: ubi per turmas advenere, vix ulla acies obstiterit. Sed tum umido die et soluto gelu neque conti neque gladii, quos praelongos utraque manu regunt, usui, lapsantibus equis et catafractarum pondere. Id principibus et nobilissimo cuique tegimen ferreis lamminis aut praeduro corio consertum, ut adversus ictus inpenetrabile, ita impetu hostium provolutis inhabile ad resurgendum. Simul altitudine et mollitia nivis hauriebantur. Romanus miles facilis lorica et missili pilo aut lanceis adsultans, ubi

res posceret, levi gladio inermem Sarmatam (neque enim scuto defendi mos est) comminus fodiebat, donec pauci, qui proelio superfuerant, paludibus abderentur. Ibi saevitia hiemis aut vulnerum absumpti. Postquam id Romae compertum, M. Aponius Moesiam obtinens triumphali statua, Fulvus Aurelius et Iulianus Tettius ac Numisius Lupus legati legionum consularibus ornamentis donantur, laeto Othone et gloriam in se trahente, tanquam et ipse felix bello et suis ducibus suisque exercitibus rem publicam auxisset.

Parvo interim initio, unde nihil timebatur, orta sedi- **80**
tio prope urbi excidio fuit. Septumam decumam cohortem e colonia Ostiensi in urbem acciri Otho iusserat; armandae eius cura Vario Crispino tribuno e praetorianis data. Is quo magis vacuus quietis castris iussa exsequeretur, vehicula cohortis incipiente nocte onerari aperto armamentario iubet. Tempus in suspicionem, causa in crimen, adfectatio quietis in tumultum evaluit, et visa inter temulentos arma cupidinem sui movere. Fremit miles et tribunos centurionesque proditionis arguit, tanquam familiae senatorum ad perniciem Othonis armarentur, pars ignari et vino graves, pessimus quisque in occasionem praedarum, vulgus, ut mos est, cuiuscumque motus novi cupidum; et obsequia meliorum nox abstulerat. Resistentem seditioni tribunum et severissimos centurionum obtruncant; rapta arma, nudati gladii, insidentes equis urbem ac Palatium petunt.

Erat Othoni celebre convivium primoribus feminis **81**
virisque; qui trepidi, fortuitusne militum furor an dolus imperatoris, manere ac deprehendi an fugere et dispergi periculosius foret, modo constantiam simulare, modo formidine detegi, simul Othonis vultum intueri; utque

evenit inclinatis ad suspicionem mentibus, cum timeret Otho, timebatur. Sed haud secus discrimine senatus quam suo territus et praefectos praetorii ad mitigandas militum iras statim miserat et abire propere omnes e convivio iussit. Tum vero passim magistratus proiectis insignibus, vitata comitum et servorum frequentia, senes feminaeque per tenebras diversa urbis itinera, rari domos, plurimi amicorum tecta et, ut cuique humillimus cliens, incertas latebras petivere.

82 Militum impetus ne foribus quidem Palati coërcitus, quo minus convivium inrumperent, ostendi sibi Othonem expostulantes, vulnerato Iulio Martiale tribuno et Vitellio Saturnino praefecto legionis, dum ruentibus obsistunt. Undique arma et minae, modo in centuriones tribunosque, modo in senatum universum, lymphatis caeco pavore animis, et quia neminem unum destinare irae poterant, licentiam in omnes poscentibus, donec Otho contra decus imperii toro insistens precibus et lacrimis aegre cohibuit, redieruntque in castra inviti neque innocentes. Postera die velut capta urbe clausae domus, rarus per vias populus, maesta plebs; deiecti in terram militum vultus ac plus tristitiae quam paenitentiae. Manipulatim adlocuti sunt Licinius Proculus et Plotius Firmus praefecti, ex suo quisque ingenio mitius aut horridius. Finis sermonis in eo, ut quina milia nummum singulis militibus numerarentur. Tum Otho ingredi castra ausus. Atque illum tribuni centurionesque circumsistunt, abiectis militiae insignibus otium et salutem flagitantes. Sensit invidiam miles et compositus in obsequium auctores seditionis ad supplicium ultro postulabat.

83 Otho, quanquam turbidis rebus et diversis militum animis, cum optimus quisque remedium praesentis licen-

tiae posceret, vulgus et plures seditionibus et ambitioso imperio laeti per turbas et raptus facilius ad civile bellum inpellerentur, simul reputans non posse principatum scelere quaesitum subita modestia et prisca gravitate retineri, sed discrimine urbis et periculo senatus anxius, postremo ita disseruit: 'Neque ut adfectus vestros in amorem mei accenderem, commilitones, neque ut animum ad virtutem cohortarer (utraque enim egregie supersunt), sed veni postulaturus a vobis temperamentum vestrae fortitudinis et erga me modum caritatis. Tumultus proximi initium non cupiditate vel odio, quae multos exercitus in discordiam egere, ac ne detrectatione quidem aut formidine periculorum: nimia pietas vestra acrius quam considerate excitavit; nam saepe honestas rerum causas, ni iudicium adhibeas, perniciosi exitus consecuntur. Imus ad bellum. Num omnes nuntios palam audiri, omnia consilia cunctis praesentibus tractari ratio rerum aut occasionum velocitas patitur? Tam nescire quaedam milites quam scire oportet: ita se ducum auctoritas, sic rigor disciplinae habet, ut multa etiam centuriones tribunosque tantum iuberi expediat. Si cur iubeantur quaerere singulis liceat, pereunte obsequio etiam imperium intercidet. An et illic nocte intempesta rapientur arma? Unus alterve perditus ac temulentus (neque enim plures consternatione proxima insanisse crediderim) centurionis ac tribuni sanguine manus imbuet, imperatoris sui tentorium inrumpet?'

84 'Vos quidem istud pro me: sed in discursu ac tenebris et rerum omnium confusione patefieri occasio etiam adversus me potest. Si Vitellio et satellitibus eius eligendi facultas detur, quem nobis animum, quas mentes inprecentur, quid aliud quam seditionem et discordiam opta-

bunt? ne miles centurioni, ne centurio tribuno obsequatur, ut confusi pedites equitesque in exitium ruamus. Parendo potius, commilitones, quam imperia ducum sciscitando res militares continentur, et fortissimus in ipso discrimine exercitus est, qui ante discrimen quietissimus. Vobis arma et animus sit: mihi consilium et virtutis vestrae regimen relinquite. Paucorum culpa fuit, duorum poena erit: ceteri abolete memoriam foedissimae noctis. Nec illas adversus senatum voces ullus usquam exercitus audiat. Caput imperii et decora omnium provinciarum ad poenam vocare non hercule illi, quos cum maxime Vitellius in nos ciet, Germani audeant: ulline Italiae alumni et Romana vere iuventus ad sanguinem et caedem depoposcerint ordinem, cuius splendore et gloria sordes et obscuritatem Vitellianarum partium praestringimus? Nationes aliquas occupavit Vitellius, imaginem quandam exercitus habet: senatus nobiscum est; sic fit ut hinc res publica, inde hostes rei publicae constiterint. Quid? Vos pulcherrimam hanc urbem domibus et tectis et congestu lapidum stare creditis? Muta ista et inanima intercidere ac reparari promisca sunt: aeternitas rerum et pax gentium et mea cum vestra salus incolumitate senatus firmatur. Hunc auspicato a parente et conditore urbis nostrae institutum et a regibus usque ad principes continuum et inmortalem, sic*ut* a maioribus accepimus, sic posteris tradamus. Nam ut ex vobis senatores, ita ex senatoribus principes nascuntur.'

85 Et oratio ad perstringendos mulcendosque militum animos et severitatis modus (neque enim in plures quam in duos animadverti iusserat) grate accepta, compositique ad praesens qui coërceri non poterant. Non tamen quies urbi redierat: strepitus telorum et facies

belli, militibus ut nihil in commune turbantibus, ita sparsis per domos occulto habitu, et maligna cura in omnes quos nobilitas aut opes aut aliqua insignis claritudo rumoribus obiecerat: Vitellianos quoque milites venisse in urbem ad studia partium noscenda plerique credebant: unde plena omnia suspicionum et vix secreta domuum sine formidine. Sed plurimum trepidationis in publico, ut quemque nuntium fama adtulisset, animum vultumque conversis, ne diffidere dubiis ac parum gaudere prosperis viderentur. Coacto vero in curiam senatu arduus rerum omnium modus, ne contumax silentium, ne suspecta libertas; et privato Othoni nuper atque eadem dicenti nota adulatio. Igitur versare sententias et huc atque illuc torquere, hostem et parricidam Vitellium vocantes, providentissimus quisque vulgaribus conviciis, quidam vera probra iacere, in clamore tamen et ubi plurimae voces, aut tumultu verborum sibi ipsi obstrepentes.

Prodigia insuper terrebant diversis auctoribus vulgata: **86** in vestibulo Capitolii omissas habenas bigae, cui Victoria institerat, erupisse cella Iunonis maiorem humana speciem, statuam divi Iulii in insula Tiberini amnis sereno et immoto die ab occidente in orientem conversam, prolocutum in Etruria bovem, insolitos animalium partus, et plura alia rudibus saeculis etiam in pace observata, quae nunc tantum in metu audiuntur. Sed praecipuus et cum praesenti exitio etiam futuri pavor subita inundatione Tiberis, qui inmenso auctu proruto ponte sublicio ac strage obstantis molis refusus, non modo iacentia et plana urbis loca, sed secura eius modi casuum implevit. Rapti e publico plerique, plures in tabernis et cubilibus intercepti: fames in vulgus inopia quaestus et penuria alimentorum; corrupta stagnantibus aquis insularum

fundamenta, dein remeante flumine dilapsa. Utque primum vacuus a periculo animus fuit, id ipsum quod paranti expeditionem Othoni campus Martius et via Flaminia iter belli esset obstructum, a fortuitis vel naturalibus causis in prodigium et omen imminentium cladium vertebatur.

87 Otho lustrata urbe et expensis belli consiliis, quando Poeninae Cottiaeque Alpes et ceteri Galliarum aditus Vitellianis exercitibus claudebantur, Narbonensem Galliam adgredi statuit classe valida et partibus fida, quod reliquos caesorum ad pontem Mulvium et saevitia Galbae in custodia habitos in numeros legionis composuerat, facta et ceteris spe honoratioris in posterum militiae. Addidit classi urbanas cohortes et plerosque e praetorianis, viris et robur exercitus atque ipsis ducibus consilium et custodes. Summa expeditionis Antonio Novello, Suedio Clementi primipilaribus, Aemilio Pacensi, cui ademptum a Galba tribunatum reddiderat, permissa. Curam navium Moschus libertus retinebat ad observandam honestiorum fidem immutatus. Peditum equitumque copiis Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celsus, Annius Gallus rectores destinati; sed plurima fides Licinio Proculo praetorii praefecto. Is urbanae militiae impiger, bellorum insolens, auctoritatem Paulini, vigorem Celsi, maturitatem Galli, ut cuique erat, criminando, quod facillimum factu est, pravus et callidus bonos et modestos anteibat.

88 Sepositus per eos dies Cornelius Dolabella in coloniam Aquinatem, neque arta custodia neque obscura, nullum ob crimen, sed vetusto nomine et propinquitate Galbae monstratus. Multos e magistratibus, magnam consularium partem Otho non participes aut ministros bello, sed comitum specie secum expedire iubet, in quis et Lucium

Vitellium, eodem quo ceteros cultu, nec ut imperatoris fratrem nec ut hostis. Igitur motae urbis curae; nullus ordo metu aut periculo vacuus. Primores senatus aetate invalidi et longa pace desides, segnis et oblita bellorum nobilitas, ignarus militiae eques, quanto magis occultare et abdere pavorem nitebantur, manifestius pavidi. Nec deerant e contrario qui ambitione stolida conspicua arma, insignes equos, quidam luxuriosos apparatus conviviorum et irritamenta libidinum ut instrumentum belli mercarentur. Sapientibus quietis et rei publicae cura; levissimus quisque et futuri improvidus spe vana tumens; multi adflicta fide in pace anxii, turbatis rebus alacres et per incerta tutissimi.

Sed vulgus et magnitudine nimia communium cura- 89
rum expers populus sentire paulatim belli mala, conversa in militum usum omni pecunia, intentis alimentorum pretiis; quae motu Vindicis haud perinde plebem attriverant, secura tum urbe et provinciali bello, quod inter legiones Galliasque velut externum fuit. Nam ex quo divus Augustus res Caesarum composuit, procul et in unius sollicitudinem aut decus populus Romanus bellaverat; sub Tiberio et Gaio tantum pacis adversa ad rem publicam pertinuere; Scriboniani contra Claudium incepta simul audita et coërcita; Nero nuntiis magis et rumoribus quam armis depulsus. Tum legiones classesque et, quod raro alias, praetorianus urbanusque miles in aciem deducti, Oriens Occidensque et quidquid utrimque virium est a tergo, si ducibus aliis bellatum foret, longo bello materia. Fuere qui proficiscenti Othoni moras religionemque nondum conditorum ancilium adferrent: aspernatus est omnem cunctationem ut Neroni quoque exitiosam; et Caecina iam Alpes transgressus extimulabat.

90 Pridie idus Martias commendata patribus re publica reliquias Neronianarum sectionum nondum in fiscum conversas revocatis ab exilio concessit, iustissimum donum et in speciem magnificum, sed festinata iam pridem exactione usu sterile. Mox vocata contione maiestatem urbis et consensum populi ac senatus pro se attollens, adversum Vitellianas partes modeste disseruit, inscitiam potius legionum quam audaciam increpans, nulla Vitellii mentione, sive ipsius ea moderatio, seu scriptor orationis sibi metuens contumeliis in Vitellium abstinuit, quando, ut in consiliis militiae Suetonio Paulino et Mario Celso, ita in rebus urbanis Galeri Trachali ingenio Othonem uti credebatur; et erant qui genus ipsum orandi noscerent, crebro fori usu celebre et ad implendas populi aures latum et sonans. Clamor vocesque vulgi ex more adulandi nimiae et falsae: quasi dictatorem Caesarem aut imperatorem Augustum prosequerentur, ita studiis votisque certabant, nec metu aut amore, sed ex libidine servitii; ut in familiis, privata cuique stimulatio, et vile iam decus publicum. Profectus Otho quietem urbis curasque imperii Salvio Titiano fratri permisit.

CORNELII TACITI

HISTORIARVM

LIBER II

Struebat iam fortuna in diversa parte terrarum initia 1
causasque imperio quod varia sorte laetum rei publicae aut atrox, ipsis principibus prosperum vel exitio fuit. Titus Vespasianus e Iudaea incolumi adhuc Galba missus a patre, causam profectionis officium erga principem et maturam petendis honoribus iuventam ferebat, sed vulgus fingendi avidum disperserat accitum in adoptionem. Materia sermonibus senium et orbitas principis et intemperantia civitatis, donec unus eligatur, multos destinandi. Augebat famam ipsius Titi ingenium quantaecumque fortunae capax, decor oris cum quadam maiestate, prosperae Vespasiani res, praesaga responsa, et inclinatis ad credendum animis loco ominum etiam fortuita. Ubi Corinthi, Achaiae urbe, certos nuntios accepit de interitu Galbae, et aderant qui arma Vitellii bellumque adfirmarent, anxius animo paucis amicorum adhibitis cuncta utrimque perlustrat: si pergeret in urbem, nullam officii gratiam in alterius honorem suscepti, ac se Vitellio sive Othoni obsidem fore: sin rediret, offensam haud dubiam victoris, sed incertam adhuc victoriam et concedente in partes patre filium excusatum. Sin Vespasianus rem publicam susciperet, obliviscendum offensarum de bello agitantibus.

2 His ac talibus inter spem metumque iactatum spes vicit. Fuerunt qui accensum desiderio Berenices reginae vertisse iter crederent; neque abhorrebat a Berenice iuvenilis animus, sed gerendis rebus nullum ex eo impedimentum: laetam voluptatibus adulescentiam egit, suo quam patris imperio moderatior. Igitur oram Achaiae et Asiae ac laeva maris praevectus, Rhodum et Cyprum insulas, inde Syriam audentioribus spatiis petebat. Atque illum cupido incessit adeundi visendique templum Paphiae Veneris inclutum per indigenas advenasque. Haud fuerit longum initia religionis, templi ritum, formam deae (neque enim alibi sic habetur) paucis disserere.

3 Conditorem templi regem Aëriam vetus memoria, quidam ipsius deae nomen id perhibent. Fama recentior tradit a Cinyra sacratum templum deamque ipsam conceptam mari huc adpulsam; sed scientiam artemque haruspicum accitam et Cilicem Tamiram intulisse, atque ita pactum ut familiae utriusque posteri caerimoniis praesiderent. Mox, ne honore nullo regium genus peregrinam stirpem antecelleret, ipsa quam intulerant scientia hospites cessere: tantum Cinyrades sacerdos consulitur. Hostiae, ut quisque vovit, sed mares deliguntur: certissima fides haedorum fibris. Sanguinem arae obfundere vetitum: precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur, nec ullis imbribus quanquam in aperto madescunt. Simulacrum deae non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metae modo exsurgens, set ratio in obscuro.

4 Titus spectata opulentia donisque regum, quaeque alia laetum antiquitatibus Graecorum genus incertae vetustati adfingit, de navigatione primum consulit. Postquam pandi viam et mare prosperum accepit, de se per ambages

interrogat caesis compluribus hostiis. Sostratus (sacerdoti id nomen erat) ubi laeta et congruentia exta magnisque consultis adnuere deam videt, pauca in praesens et solita respondens, petito secreto futura aperit. Titus aucto animo ad patrem pervectus suspensis provinciarum et exercituum mentibus ingens rerum fiducia accessit.

Profligaverat bellum Iudaicum Vespasianus, obpugnatione Hierosolymorum reliqua, duro magis et arduo opere ob ingenium montis et pervicaciam superstitionis, quam quo satis virium obsessis ad tolerandas necessitates superesset. Tres, ut supra memoravimus, ipsi Vespasiano legiones erant, exercitae bello: quattuor Mucianus obtinebat in pace, sed aemulatio et proximi exercitus gloria depulerat segnitiam, quantumque illis roboris discrimina et labor, tantum his vigoris addiderat integra quies et inexperti belli *ru*bor. Auxilia utrique cohortium alarumque et classes regesque ac nomen dispari fama celebre.

Vespasianus acer militiae, anteire agmen, locum castris 5
capere, noctu diuque consilio ac, si res posceret, manu hostibus obniti, cibo fortuito, veste habituque vix a gregario milite discrepans; prorsus, si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par. Mucianum e contrario magnificentia et opes et cuncta privatum modum supergressa extollebant; aptior sermone, dispositu provisuque civilium rerum peritus: egregium principatus temperamentum, si demptis utriusque vitiis solae virtutes miscerentur. Ceterum hic Syriae, ille Iudaeae praepositus, vicinis provinciarum administrationibus invidia discordes, exitu demum Neronis positis odiis in medium consuluere, primum per amicos, dein praecipua concordiae fides Titus prava certamina communi utilitate aboleverat, natura atque arte compositus adliciendis etiam Muciani moribus. Tribuni centuri-

onesque et vulgus militum industria licentia, per virtutes per voluptates, ut cuique ingenium, adsciscebantur.

6 Antequam Titus adventaret, sacramentum Othonis acceperat uterque exercitus, praecipitibus, ut adsolet, nuntiis et tarda mole civilis belli, quod longa concordia quietus Oriens tunc primum parabat. Namque olim validissima inter se civium arma in Italia Galliave viribus Occidentis coepta; et Pompeio Cassio Bruto Antonio, quos omnes trans mare secutum est civile bellum, haud prosperi exitus fuerant, auditique saepius in Syria Iudaeaque Caesares quam inspecti. Nulla seditio legionum, tantum adversus Parthos minae vario eventu; et proximo civili bello turbatis aliis inconcussa ibi pax, dein fides erga Galbam. Mox, ut Othonem ac Vitellium scelestis armis res Romanas raptum ire vulgatum est, ne penes ceteros imperii praemia, penes ipsos tantum servitii necessitas esset, fremere miles et vires suas circumspicere: septem legiones statim et cum ingentibus auxiliis Syria Iudaeaque; inde continua Aegyptus duaeque legiones; hinc Cappadocia Pontusque et quidquid castrorum Armeniis praetenditur; Asia et ceterae provinciae nec virorum inopes et pecunia opulentae; quantum insularum mari cingitur, et parando interim bello secundum tutumque ipsum mare.

7 Non fallebat duces impetus militum, sed bellantibus aliis placuit expectari. Bellorum civilium victores victosque numquam solida fide coalescere, nec referre, Vitellium an Othonem superstitem fortuna faceret. Rebus secundis etiam egregios duces insolescere: socordiam his, ignaviam, luxuriem; et suismet vitiis alterum bello, alterum victoria periturum. Igitur arma in occasionem distulere, Vespasianus Mucianusque nuper, ceteri olim mixtis consiliis; optimus quisque amore rei publicae,

multos dulcedo praedarum stimulabat, alios ambiguae domi res. Ita boni malique causis diversis, studio pari, bellum omnes cupiebant.

Sub idem tempus Achaia atque Asia falso exterritae, **8** velut Nero adventaret, vario super exitu eius rumore eoque pluribus vivere eum fingentibus credentibusque. Ceterorum casus conatusque in contextu operis dicemus: tunc servus e Ponto sive, ut alii tradidere, libertinus ex Italia, citharae et cantus peritus, unde illi super similitudinem oris pronior ad fallendum fides, adiunctis desertoribus, quos inopia vagos ingentibus promissis corruperat, mare ingreditur; ac vi tempestatum Cythnum insulam detrusus et militum quosdam ex Oriente commeantium adscivit vel abnuentes interfici iussit, et spoliatis negotiatoribus mancipiorum valentissimum quemque armavit. Centurionemque Sisennam dextras, concordiae insignia, Syriaci exercitus nomine ad praetorianos ferentem variis artibus adgressus est, donec Sisenna clam relicta insula trepidus et vim metuens aufugeret. Inde late terror; multi ad celebritatem nominis erecti rerum novarum cupidine et odio praesentium. Gliscentem in dies famam fors discussit.

Galatiam ac Pamphyliam provincias Calpurnio Aspre- **9** nati regendas Galba permiserat. Datae e classe Misenensi duae triremes ad prosequendum, cum quibus Cythnum insulam tenuit; nec defuere qui trierarchos nomine Neronis acciret. Is in maestitiam compositus et fidem suorum quondam militum invocans, ut eum in Syria aut Aegypto sisterent, orabat. Trierarchi, nutantes seu dolo, adloquendos sibi milites et paratis omnium animis reversuros firmaverunt. Sed Asprenati cuncta ex fide nuntiata; cuius cohortatione expugnata navis et interfectus quisquis

ille erat. Caput insigne oculis comaque et torvitate vultus in Asiam atque inde Romam pervectum est.

10 In civitate discordi et ob crebras principum mutationes inter libertatem ac licentiam incerta parvae quoque res magnis motibus agebantur. Vibius Crispus, pecunia potentia ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos, Annium Faustum equestris ordinis, qui temporibus Neronis delationes factitaverat, ad cognitionem senatus vocabat; nam recenti Galbae principatu censuerant patres, ut accusatorum causae noscerentur. Id senatus consultum varie iactatum et, prout potens vel inops reus inciderat, infirmum aut validum, retinebat aliquid terroris. Et propria vi Crispus incubuerat delatorem fratris sui pervertere traxeratque magnam senatus partem, ut indefensum et inauditum dedi ad exitium postularent. Contra apud alios nihil aeque reo proderat quam nimia potentia accusatoris: dari tempus, edi crimina, quamvis invisum ac nocentem more tamen audiendum censebant. Et valuere primo, dilataque in paucos dies cognitio: mox damnatus est Faustus nequaquam eo adsensu civitatis quem pessimis moribus meruerat: quippe ipsum Crispum easdem accusationes cum praemio exercuisse meminerant, nec poena criminis, sed ultor displicebat.

11 Laeta interim Othoni principia belli, motis ad imperium eius e Delmatia Pannoniaque exercitibus. Fuere quattuor legiones, e quibus bina milia praemissa; ipsae modicis intervallis sequebantur, septuma a Galba conscripta, veteranae undecuma ac tertia decuma, et praecipui fama quartadecumani rebellione Britanniae compressa. Addiderat gloriam Nero eligendo ut potissimos, unde longa illis erga Neronem fides et erecta in Othonem studia. Sed quo plus virium ac roboris, e fiducia tarditas inerat.

Agmen legionum alae cohortesque praeveniebant. Et ex ipsa urbe haud spernenda manus, quinque praetoriae cohortes et equitum vexilla cum legione prima, ac deforme insuper auxilium, duo milia gladiatorum, sed per civilia arma etiam severis ducibus usurpatum. His copiis rector additus Annius Gallus, cum Vestricio Spurinna ad occupandas Padi ripas praemissus, quoniam prima consiliorum frustra ceciderant, transgresso iam Alpes Caecina, quem sisti intra Gallias posse speraverat. Ipsum Othonem comitabantur speculatorum lecta corpora cum ceteris praetoriis cohortibus, veterani e praetorio, classicorum ingens numerus. Nec illi segne aut corruptum luxu iter, sed lorica ferrea usus est, et ante signa pedes ire, horridus incomptus famaeque dissimilis.

Blandiebatur coeptis fortuna, possessa per mare et **12**
naves etiam ora Italiae penitus usque ad initium Maritimarum Alpium, quibus temptandis adgrediendaeque provinciae Narbonensi Suedium Clementem, Antonium Novellum, Aemilium Pacensem duces dederat. Sed Pacensis per licentiam militum vinctus, Antonio Novello nulla auctoritas: Suedius Clemens ambitioso imperio regebat, ut adversus modestiam disciplinae corruptus, ita proeliorum avidus. Non Italia adiri nec loca sedesque patriae videbantur: tanquam externa litora et urbes hostium urere vastare rapere, eo atrocius quod nihil usquam provisum adversum metus. Pleni agri, apertae domus; occursantes domini iuxta coniuges et liberos securitate pacis et belli malo circumveniebantur. Maritimas tum Alpes tenebat procurator Marius Maturus. Is concita gente (nec deest iuventus) arcere provinciae finibus Othonianos intendit; sed primo impetu caesi disiectique montani, ut quibus temere collectis, non castra, non

ducem noscitantibus, neque in victoria decus esset neque in fuga flagitium.

13 Irritatus eo proelio Othonis miles vertit iras in municipium Albintimilium. Quippe in acie nihil praedae, inopes agrestes et vilia arma; nec capi poterant, pernix genus et gnari locorum; sed calamitatibus insontium expleta avaritia. Auxit invidiam praeclaro exemplo femina Ligus, quae filio abdito, cum simul pecuniam occultari milites credidissent eoque per cruciatus interrogarent, ubi filium occuleret, uterum ostendens latere respondit, nec ullis deinde terroribus aut morte constantiam vocis egregiae mutavit.

14 Inminere provinciae Narbonensi in verba Vitellii adactae classem Othonis trepidi nuntii Fabio Valenti attulere; aderant legati coloniarum auxilium orantes. Duas Tungrorum cohortes, quattuor equitum turmas, universam Treverorum alam cum Iulio Classico praefecto misit, e quibus pars in colonia Foroiuliensi retenta, ne omnibus copiis in terrestre iter versis vacuo mari classis adceleraret. Duodecim equitum turmae et lecti e cohortibus adversus hostem iere, quibus adiuncta Ligurum cohors, vetus loci auxilium, et quingenti Pannonii, nondum sub signis. Nec mora proelio; et acies ita instructa ut pars classicorum mixtis paganis in colles mari propinquos exsurgeret, quantum inter colles ac litus aequi loci praetorianus miles expleret, in ipso mari ut adnexa classis et pugnae parata conversa et minaci fronte praetenderetur. Vitelliani, quibus minor peditum vis, in equite robur, Alpinos proximis iugis, cohortes densis ordinibus post equitem locant. Treverorum turmae obtulere se hosti incaute, cum exciperet contra veteranus miles, simul a latere saxis urgueret apta ad iaciendum etiam paganorum manus, qui

sparsi inter milites, strenui ignavique, in victoria idem audebant. Additus perculsis terror invecta in terga pugnantium classe. Ita undique clausi deletaeque omnes copiae forent, ni victorem exercitum attinuisset obscurum noctis, obtentui fugientibus.

Nec Vitelliani quanquam victi quievere: accitis auxiliis **15** securum hostem ac successu rerum socordius agentem invadunt. Caesi vigiles, perrupta castra, trepidatum apud navis, donec sidente paulatim metu, occupato iuxta colle defensi, mox inrupere. Atrox ibi caedes, et Tungrarum cohortium praefecti sustentata diu acie telis obruuntur. Ne Othonianis quidem incruenta victoria fuit, quorum inprovide secutos conversi equites circumvenerunt. Ac velut pactis indutiis, ne hinc classis, inde eques subitam formidinem inferrent, Vitelliani retro Antipolim Narbonensis Galliae municipium, Othoniani Albingaunum interioris Liguriae revertere.

Corsicam ac Sardiniam ceterasque proximi maris in- **16** sulas fama victricis classis in partibus Othonis tenuit; sed Corsicam prope adflixit Decumi Pacarii procuratoris temeritas, tanta mole belli nihil in summam profutura, ipsi exitiosa. Namque Othonis odio iuvare Vitellium Corsorum viribus statuit, inani auxilio, etiam si provenisset. Vocatis principibus insulae consilium aperit, et contra dicere ausos, Claudium Pyrrhicum trierarchum Liburnicarum ibi navium, Quintium Certum equitem Romanum, interfici iubet; quorum morte exterriti qui aderant, simul ignara et alieni metus socia imperitorum turba in verba Vitellii iuravere. Sed ubi dilectum agere Pacarius et inconditos homines fatigare militiae muneribus occepit, laborem insolitum perosi infirmitatem suam reputabant: insulam esse quam incolerent, et longe Germaniam

viresque legionum; direptos vastatosque classe etiam quos cohortes alaeque protegerent. Et aversi repente animi, nec tamen aperta vi: aptum tempus insidiis legere. Digressis qui Pacarium frequentabant, nudus et auxilii inops balineis interficitur; trucidati et comites. Capita ut hostium ipsi interfectores ad Othonem tulere; neque eos aut Otho praemio adfecit aut puniit Vitellius, in multa conluvie rerum maioribus flagitiis permixtos.

17 Aperuerat iam Italiam bellumque transmiserat, ut supra memoravimus, ala Siliana, nullo apud quemquam Othonis favore, nec quia Vitellium mallent, sed longa pax ad omne servitium fregerat faciles occupantibus et melioribus incuriosos. Florentissimum Italiae latus, quantum inter Padum Alpesque camporum et urbium, armis Vitellii (namque et praemissae a Caecina cohortes advenerant) tenebatur. Capta Pannoniorum cohors apud Cremonam, intercepti centum equites ac mille classici inter Placentiam Ticinumque. Quo successu Vitellianus miles non iam flumine aut ripis arcebatur; inritabat quin etiam Batavos transrhenanosque Padus ipse, quem repente contra Placentiam transgressi raptis quibusdam exploratoribus ita ceteros terruere ut adesse omnem Caecinae exercitum trepidi ac falsi nuntiarent.

18 Certum erat Spurinnae (is enim Placentiam optinebat) necdum venisse Caecinam et, si propinquaret, coërcere intra munimenta militem nec tris praetorias cohortes et mille vexillarios cum paucis equitibus veterano exercitui obicere; sed indomitus miles et belli ignarus correptis signis vexillisque ruere et retinenti duci tela intentare, spretis centurionibus tribunisque: qui*n* pro*di* Othonem et accitum Caecinam clamitabant. Fit temeritatis alienae comes Spurinna, primo coactus, mox velle simulans, quo plus auctoritatis inesset consiliis, si seditio mitesceret.

Postquam in conspectu Padus et nox adpetebat, vallari **19**
castra placuit. Is labor urbano militi insolitus contundit animos. Tum vetustissimus quisque castigare credulitatem suam, metum ac discrimen ostendere, si cum exercitu Caecina patentibus campis tam paucas cohortes circumfudisset. Iamque totis castris modesti sermones, et inserentibus se centurionibus tribunisque laudari providentia ducis, quod coloniam virium et opum validam robur ac sedem bello legisset. Ipse postremo Spurinna, non tam culpam exprobrans quam rationem ostendens, relictis exploratoribus ceteros Placentiam reduxit minus turbidos et imperia accipientes. Solidati muri, propugnacula addita, auctae turres, provisa parataque non arma modo, sed obsequium et parendi amor, quod solum illis partibus defuit, cum virtutis haud paeniteret.

At Caecina, velut relicta post Alpes saevitia ac licentia, **20**
modesto agmine per Italiam incessit. Ornatum ipsius municipia et coloniae in superbiam trahebant, quod versicolori sagulo, bracas indutus togatos adloqueretur, uxoremque eius Saloninam, *quod* quanquam in nullius iniuriam insignis equo ostroque veheretur, tanquam laesi gravabantur, insita mortalibus natura recentem aliorum felicitatem acribus oculis introspicere modumque fortunae a nullis magis exigere quam quos in aequo viderunt. Caecina Padum transgressus, temptata Othonianorum fide per conloquium et promissa, isdem petitus, postquam pax et concordia speciosis et inritis nominibus iactata sunt, consilia curasque in oppugnationem Placentiae magno terrore vertit, gnarus, ut initia belli provenissent, famam in cetera fore.

Sed primus dies impetu magis quam veterani exercitus **21**
artibus transactus: aperti incautique muros subiere, cibo

vinoque praegraves. In eo certamine pulcherrimum amphitheatri opus situm extra muros conflagravit, sive ab oppugnatoribus incensum, dum faces et glandes et missilem ignem in obsessos iaculantur, sive ab obsessis, dum *paria* regerunt. Municipale vulgus, pronum ad suspiciones, fraude inlata ignis alimenta credidit a quibusdam ex vicinis coloniis invidia et aemulatione, quod nulla in Italia moles tam capax foret. Quocumque casu accidit, dum atrociora metuebantur, in levi habitum, reddita securitate, tanquam nihil gravius pati potuissent, maerebant. Ceterum multo suorum cruore pulsus Caecina, et nox parandis operibus absumpta. Vitelliani pluteos cratesque et vineas subfodiendis muris protegendisque obpugnatoribus, Othoniani sudes et inmensas lapidum ac plumbi aerisque moles perfringendis obruendisque hostibus expediunt. Utrimque pudor, utrimque gloria, et diversae exhortationes hinc legionum et Germanici exercitus robur, inde urbanae militiae et praetoriarum cohortium decus attollentium: illi ut segnem et desidem et circo ac theatris corruptum militem, hi peregrinum et externum increpabant. Simul Othonem ac Vitellium celebrantes culpantesve uberioribus inter se probris quam laudibus stimulabantur.

22 Vixdum orto die plena propugnatoribus moenia, fulgentes armis virisque campi; densum legionum agmen, sparsa auxiliorum manus altiora murorum sagittis aut saxis incessere, neglecta aut aevo fluxa comminus adgredi. Ingerunt desuper Othoniani pila librato magis et certo ictu adversus temere subeuntes cohortes Germanorum, cantu truci et more patrio nudis corporibus super umeros scuta quatientium. Legionarius pluteis et cratibus tectus subruit muros, instruit aggerem, molitur portas: contra

praetoriani dispositos ad id ipsum molares ingenti pondere ac fragore provolvunt. Pars subeuntium obruti, pars confixi et exsangues aut laceri: cum augeret stragem trepidatio eoque acrius e moenibus vulnerarentur, rediere infracta partium fama. Et Caecina pudore coeptae temere obpugnationis, ne inrisus ac vanus isdem castris adsideret, traiecto rursus Pado Cremonam petere intendit. Tradidere sese abeunti Turullius Cerialis cum compluribus classicis et Iulius Briganticus cum paucis equitum, hic praefectus alae in Batavis genitus, ille primipilaris et Caecinae haud alienus, quod ordines in Germania duxerat.

Spurinna comperto itinere hostium defensam Placen- **23**
tiam, quaeque acta et quid Caecina pararet, Annium Gallum per litteras docet. Gallus legionem primam in auxilium Placentiae ducebat, diffisus paucitati cohortium, ne longius obsidium et vim Germanici exercitus parum tolerarent. Ubi pulsum Caecinam pergere Cremonam accepit, aegre coërcitam legionem et pugnandi ardore usque ad seditionem progressam Bedriaci sistit. Inter Veronam Cremonamque situs est vicus, duabus iam Romanis cladibus notus infaustusque.

Isdem diebus a Martio Macro haud procul Cremona prospere pugnatum; namque promptus animi Marcius transvectos navibus gladiatores in adversam Padi ripam repente effudit. Turbata ibi Vitellianorum auxilia, et ceteris Cremonam fugientibus caesi qui restiterant: sed repressus vincentium impetus, ne novis subsidiis firmati hostes fortunam proelii mutarent. Suspectum id Othonianis fuit, omnia ducum facta prave aestimantibus. Certatim, ut quisque animo ignavus, procax ore, Annium Gallum et Suetonium Paulinum et Marium Celsum (nam

eos quoque Otho praefecerat) variis criminibus incessebant. Acerrima seditionum ac discordiae incitamenta, interfectores Galbae, scelere et metu vaecordes miscere cuncta, modo palam turbidis vocibus, modo occultis ad Othonem litteris; qui humillimo cuique credulus, bonos metuens trepidabat, rebus prosperis incertus et inter adversa melior. Igitur Titianum fratrem accitum bello praeposuit.

24 Interea Paulini et Celsi ductu res egregie gestae. Angebant Caecinam nequiquam omnia coepta et senescens exercitus sui fama. Pulsus Placentia, caesis nuper auxiliis, etiam per concursum exploratorum, crebra magis quam digna memoratu proelia, inferior, propinquante Fabio Valente, ne omne belli decus illuc concederet, reciperare gloriam avidius quam consultius properabat. Ad duodecumum a Cremona (locus Castorum vocatur) ferocissimos auxiliarium inminentibus viae lucis occultos componit; equites procedere longius iussi et inritato proelio sponte refugi festinationem sequentium elicere, donec insidiae coorerentur. Proditum id Othonianis ducibus, et curam peditum Paulinus, equitum Celsus sumpsere. Tertiae decumae legionis vexillum, quattuor auxiliorum cohortes et quingenti equites in sinistro locantur; aggerem viae tres praetoriae cohortes altis ordinibus obtinuere; dextra fronte prima legio incessit cum duabus auxiliaribus cohortibus et quingentis equitibus: super hos e praetorio auxiliisque mille equites, cumulus prosperis aut subsidium laborantibus, ducebantur.

25 Antequam miscerentur acies, terga vertentibus Vitellianis, Celsus doli prudens repressit suos: Vitelliani temere exsurgentes, cedente sensim Celso longius secuti ultro in insidias praecipitantur; nam a lateribus cohortes, legio-

num adversa frons, et subito discursu terga cinxerat eques. Signum pugnae non statim a Suetonio Paulino pediti datum: cunctator natura et cui cauta potius consilia cum ratione quam prospera ex casu placerent, compleri fossas, aperiri campum, pandi aciem iubebat, satis cito incipi victoriam ratus, ubi provisum foret, ne vincerentur. Ea cunctatione spatium Vitellianis datum in vineas nexu traducum impeditas refugiendi; et modica silva adhaerebat, unde rursus ausi promptissimos praetorianorum equitum interfecere. Vulneratur rex Epiphanes, impigre pro Othone pugnam ciens.

Tum Othonianus pedes erupit; protrita hostium acie **26** versi in fugam etiam qui subveniebant; nam Caecina non simul cohortes, sed singulas acciverat, quae res in proelio trepidationem auxit, cum dispersos nec usquam validos pavor fugientium abriperet. Orta et in castris seditio, quod non universi ducerentur: vinctus praefectus castrorum Iulius Gratus, tanquam fratri apud Othonem militanti proditionem ageret, cum fratrem eius, Iulium Frontonem tribunum, Othoniani sub eodem crimine vinxissent. Ceterum ea ubique formido fuit apud fugientes occursantes, in acie pro vallo, ut deleri cum universo exercitu Caecinam potuisse, ni Suetonius Paulinus receptui cecinisset, utrisque in partibus percrebruerit. Timuisse se Paulinus ferebat tantum insuper laboris atque itineris, ne Vitellianus miles recens e castris fessos adgrederetur et perculsis nullum retro subsidium foret. Apud paucos ea ducis ratio probata, in vulgus adverso rumore fuit.

Haud perinde id damnum Vitellianos in metum com- **27** pulit quam ad modestiam composuit, nec solum apud Caecinam, qui culpam in militem conferebat, seditioni magis quam proelio paratum: Fabii quoque Valentis

copiae (iam enim Ticinum venerat) posito hostium contemptu et reciperandi decoris cupidine reverentius et aequalius duci parebant. Gravis alioquin seditio exarserat, quam altiore initio (neque enim rerum a Caecina gestarum ordinem interrumpi oportuerat) repetam. Cohortes Batavorum, quas bello Neronis a quarta decuma legione digressas, cum Britanniam peterent, audito Vitellii motu in civitate Lingonum Fabio Valenti adiunctas rettulimus, superbe agebant, ut cuiusque legionis tentoria accessissent, coërcitos a se quartadecumanos, ablatam Neroni Italiam atque omnem belli fortunam in ipsorum manu sitam iactantes. Contumeliosum id militibus, acerbum duci; corrupta iurgiis aut rixis disciplina; ad postremum Valens e petulantia etiam perfidiam suspectabat.

28 Igitur nuntio adlato pulsam Treverorum alam Tungrosque a classe Othonis et Narbonensem Galliam circumiri, simul cura socios tuendi et militari astu cohortes turbidas ac, si una forent, praevalidas dispergendi, partem Batavorum ire in subsidium iubet. Quod ubi auditum vulgatumque, maerere socii, fremere legiones: orbari se fortissimorum virorum auxilio; veteres illos et tot bellorum victores, postquam in conspectu sit hostis, velut ex acie abduci. Si provincia urbe et salute imperii potior sit, omnes illuc sequerentur; sin victoriae columen in Italia verteretur, non abrumpendos ut corpori validissimos artus.

29 Haec ferociter iactando, postquam inmissis lictoribus Valens coërcere seditionem coeptabat, ipsum invadunt, saxa iaciunt, fugientem secuntur. Spolia Galliarum et Viennensium aurum, pretia laborum suorum, occultari clamitantes, direptis sarcinis tabernacula ducis ipsamque humum pilis et lanceis rimabantur; nam Valens servili

veste apud decurionem equitum tegebatur. Tum Alfenus Varus praefectus castrorum, deflagrante paulatim seditione, addit consilium, vetitis obire vigilias centurionibus, omisso tubae sono, quo miles ad belli munia cietur. Igitur torpere cuncti, circumspectare inter se attoniti et id ipsum, quod nemo regeret, paventes; silentio patientia, postremo precibus ac lacrimis veniam quaerebant. Ut vero deformis et flens et praeter spem incolumis Valens processit, gaudium miseratio favor: versi in laetitiam, ut est vulgus utroque inmodicum, laudantes gratantesque circumdatum aquilis signisque in tribunal ferunt. Ille utili moderatione non supplicium cuiusquam poposcit, ac ne dissimulans suspectior foret, paucos incusavit, gnarus civilibus bellis plus militibus quam ducibus licere.

Munientibus castra apud Ticinum de adversa Caecinae **30** pugna adlatum, et prope renovata seditio, tanquam fraude et cunctationibus Valentis proelio defuissent: nolle requiem, non expectare ducem, anteire signa, urguere signiferos; rapido agmine Caecinae iunguntur. Inprospera Valentis fama apud exercitum Caecinae erat: expositos se tanto pauciores integris hostium viribus querebantur, simul in suam excusationem et adventantium robur per adulationem attollentes, ne ut victi et ignavi despectarentur. Et quanquam plus virium, prope duplicatus legionum auxiliorumque numerus erat Valenti, studia tamen militum in Caecinam inclinabant, super benignitatem animi, qua promptior habebatur, etiam vigore aetatis, proceritate corporis et quodam inani favore. Hinc aemulatio ducibus: Caecina ut foedum ac maculosum, ille ut tumidum ac vanum inridebant. Sed condito odio eandem utilitatem fovere, crebris epistulis sine respectu veniae probra Othoni obiectantes, cum duces par-

tium Othonis quamvis uberrima conviciorum in Vitellium materia abstinerent.

31 Sane ante utriusque exitum, quo egregiam Otho famam, Vitellius flagitiosissimam meruere, minus Vitellii ignavae voluptates quam Othonis flagrantissimae libidines timebantur: addiderat huic terrorem atque odium caedes Galbae, contra illi initium belli nemo inputabat. Vitellius ventre et gula sibi inhonestus, Otho luxu saevitia audacia rei publicae exitiosior ducebatur.

Coniunctis Caecinae ac Valentis copiis nulla ultra penes Vitellianos mora quin totis viribus certarent: Otho consultavit, trahi bellum an fortunam experiri placeret.

32 Tunc Suetonius Paulinus dignum fama sua ratus, quia nemo illa tempestate militaris rei callidior habebatur, de toto genere belli censere, festinationem hostibus, moram ipsis utilem disseruit: exercitum Vitellii universum advenisse, nec multum virium a tergo, quoniam Galliae tumeant et deserere Rheni ripam inrupturis tam infestis nationibus non conducat; Britannicum militem hoste et mari distineri; Hispanias armis non ita redundare; provinciam Narbonensem incursu classis et adverso proelio contremuisse; clausam Alpibus et nullo maris subsidio transpadanam Italiam atque ipso transitu exercitus vastam; non frumentum usquam exercitui, nec exercitum sine copiis retineri posse: iam Germanos, quod genus militum apud hostis atrocissimum sit, tracto in aestatem bello, fluxis corporibus, mutationem soli caelique haud toleraturos. Multa bella impetu valida per taedia et moras evanuisse. Contra ipsis omnia opulenta et fida, Pannoniam Moesiam Delmatiam Orientem cum integris exercitibus, Italiam et caput rerum urbem senatumque et populum, numquam obscura nomina, etiam si aliquando

obumbrentur; publicas privatasque opes et inmensam pecuniam, inter civiles discordias ferro validiorem; corpora militum aut Italiae sueta aut aestibus; obiacere flumen Padum, tutas viris murisque urbes, e quibus nullam hosti cessuram Placentiae defensione exploratum. Proinde duceret bellum. Paucis diebus quartam decumam legionem, magna ipsam fama, *cum* Moesicis copiis adfore: tum rursus deliberaturum et, si proelium placuisset, auctis viribus certaturos.

Accedebat sententiae Paulini Marius Celsus; idem pla- **33**
cere Annio Gallo, paucos ante dies lapsu equi adflicto, missi qui consilium eius sciscitarentur rettulerant. Otho pronus ad decertandum; frater eius Titianus et praefectus praetorii Proculus, imperitia properantes, fortunam et deos et numen Othonis adesse consiliis, adfore conatibus testabantur, neu quis obviam ire sententiae auderet, in adulationem concesserant. Postquam pugnari placitum, interesse pugnae imperatorem an seponi melius foret dubitavere. Paulino et Celso iam non adversantibus, ne principem obiectare periculis viderentur, idem illi deterioris consilii auctores perpulere, ut Brixellum concederet ac dubiis proeliorum exemptus summae rerum et imperii se ipsum reservaret. Is primus dies Othonianas partes adflixit; namque et cum ipso praetoriarum cohortium et speculatorum equitumque valida manus discessit, et remanentium fractus animus, quando suspecti duces et Otho, cui uni apud militem fides, dum et ipse non nisi militibus credit, imperia ducum *in* incerto reliquerat.

Nihil eorum Vitellianos fallebat, crebris, ut in civili **34**
bello, transfugiis; et exploratores cura diversa sciscitandi sua non occultabant. Quieti intentique Caecina ac Valens, quando hostis inprudentia rueret, quod loco sapi-

entiae est, alienam stultitiam opperiebantur, incohato ponte transitum Padi simulantes adversus obpositam gladiatorum manum, ac ne ipsorum miles segne otium tereret. Naves pari inter se spatio, validis utrimque trabibus conexae, adversum in flumen dirigebantur, iactis super ancoris, quae firmitatem pontis continerent, sed ancorarum funes non extenti fluitabant, ut augescente flumine inoffensus ordo navium attolleretur. Claudebat pontem inposita turris et in extremam navem educta, unde tormentis ac machinis hostes propulsarentur. Othoniani in ripa turrim struxerant saxaque et faces iaculabantur.

35 Et erat insula amne medio, in quam gladiatores navibus molientes, Germani nando praelabebantur. Ac forte plures transgressos completis Liburnicis per promptissimos gladiatorum Macer adgreditur; sed neque ea constantia gladiatoribus ad proelia quae militibus, nec perinde nutantes e navibus quam stabili gradu e ripa vulnera derigebant. Et cum variis trepidantium inclinationibus mixti remiges propugnatoresque turbarentur, desilire in vada ultro Germani, retentare puppes, scandere foros aut comminus mergere; quae cuncta in oculis utriusque exercitus quanto laetiora Vitellianis, tanto acrius Othoniani causam auctoremque cladis detestabantur.

36 Et proelium quidem, abruptis quae supererant navibus, fuga diremptum: Macer *ad* exitium poscebatur, iamque vulneratum eminus lancea strictis gladiis invaserant, cum intercursu tribunorum centurionumque protegitur. Nec multo post Vestricius Spurinna iussu Othonis, relicto Placentiae modico praesidio, cum cohortibus subvenit. Dein Flavium Sabinum consulem designatum Otho rectorem copiis misit quibus Macer praefuerat, laeto milite

ad mutationem ducum et ducibus ob crebras seditiones tam infestam militiam aspernantibus.

Invenio apud quosdam auctores, pavore belli seu fastidio **37** utriusque principis, quorum flagitia ac dedecus apertiore in dies fama noscebantur, dubitasse exercitus, num posito certamine vel ipsi in medium consultarent, vel senatui permitterent legere imperatorem, atque eo duces Othonianos spatium ac moras suasisse, praecipua *spe* Paulini, quod vetustissimus consularium et militia clarus gloriam nomenque Britannicis expeditionibus meruisset. Ego ut concesserim apud paucos tacito voto quietem pro discordia, bonum et innocentem principem pro pessimis ac flagitiosissimis expetitum, ita neque Paulinum, qua prudentia fuit, sperasse corruptissimo saeculo tantam vulgi moderationem reor, ut qui pacem belli amore turbaverant, bellum pacis caritate deponerent, neque aut exercitus linguis moribusque dissonos in hunc consensum potuisse coalescere, aut legatos ac duces magna ex parte luxus egestatis scelerum sibi conscios nisi pollutum obstrictumque meritis suis principem passuros.

Vetus ac iam pridem insita mortalibus potentiae cupido **38** cum imperii magnitudine adolevit erupitque; nam rebus modicis aequalitas facile habebatur. Sed ubi subacto orbe et aemulis urbibus regibusve excisis securas opes concupiscere vacuum fuit, prima inter patres plebemque certamina exarsere. Modo turbulenti tribuni, modo consules praevalidi, et in urbe ac foro temptamenta civilium bellorum; mox e plebe infima C. Marius et nobilium saevissimus L. Sulla victam armis libertatem in dominationem verterunt. Post quos Cn. Pompeius occultior, non melior, et nunquam postea nisi de principatu quaesitum. Non discessere ab armis in Pharsalia ac Philippis civium

legiones, nedum Othonis ac Vitellii exercitus sponte posituri bellum fuerint: eadem illos deum ira, eadem hominum rabies, eaedem scelerum causae in discordiam egere. Quod singulis velut ictibus transacta sunt bella, ignavia principum factum est. Sed me veterum novorumque morum reputatio longius tulit: nunc ad rerum ordinem venio.

39 Profecto Brixellum Othone honor imperii penes Titianum fratrem, vis ac potestas penes Proculum praefectum; Celsus et Paulinus, cum prudentia eorum nemo uteretur, inani nomine ducum alienae culpae praetendebantur; tribuni centurionesque ambigui, quod spretis melioribus deterrimi valebant; miles alacer, qui tamen iussa ducum interpretari quam exequi mallet. Promoveri ad quartum a Bedriaco castra placuit, adeo imperite ut quanquam verno tempore anni et tot circum amnibus penuria aquae fatigarentur. Ibi de proelio dubitatum, Othone per litteras flagitante ut maturarent, militibus ut imperator pugnae adesset poscentibus: plerique copias trans Padum agentes acciri postulabant. Nec perinde diiudicari potest, quid optimum factu fuerit, quam pessimum fuisse quod factum est.

40 Non ut ad pugnam sed ad bellandum profecti confluentes Padi et Aduae fluminum, *XXV* inde milium spatio distantes, petebant. Celso et Paulino abnuentibus militem itinere fessum, sarcinis gravem obicere hosti, non omissuro quo minus expeditus et vix quattuor milia passuum progressus aut incompositos in agmine aut dispersos et vallum molientes adgrederetur, Titianus et Proculus, ubi consiliis vincerentur, ad ius imperii transibant. Aderat sane citus equo Numida cum atrocibus mandatis, quibus Otho increpita ducum segnitia rem in discrimen mitti iubebat, aeger mora et spei inpatiens.

Eodem die ad Caecinam operi pontis intentum duo **41**
praetoriarum cohortium tribuni conloquium eius postulantes venerant: audire condiciones ac reddere parabat, cum praecipites exploratores adesse hostem nuntiavere. Interruptus tribunorum sermo, eoque incertum fuit, insidias an proditionem vel aliquod honestum consilium coeptaverint. Caecina dimissis tribunis revectus in castra datum iussu Fabii Valentis pugnae signum et militem in armis invenit. Dum legiones de ordine agminis sortiuntur, equites prorupere; et mirum dictu, a paucioribus Othonianis quo minus in vallum inpingerentur, Italicae legionis virtute deterriti sunt: ea strictis mucronibus redire pulsos et pugnam resumere coëgit. Disposita Vitellianarum legionum acies sine trepidatione; etenim quanquam vicino hoste adspectus armorum densis arbustis prohibebatur. Apud Othonianos pavidi duces, miles ducibus infensus, mixta vehicula et lixae, et praeruptis utrimque fossis via quieto quoque agmini angusta. Circumsistere alii signa sua, quaerere alii; incertus undique clamor adcurrentium vocantium: ut cuique audacia vel formido, in primam postremamve aciem prorumpebant aut relabebantur.

Attonitas subito terrore mentes falsum gaudium in **42**
languorem vertit, repertis qui descivisse a Vitellio exercitum ementirentur. Is rumor ab exploratoribus Vitellii dispersus, an in ipsa Othonis parte seu dolo seu forte surrexerit, parum compertum. Omisso pugnae ardore Othoniani ultro salutavere; et hostili murmure excepti, plerisque suorum ignaris quae causa salutandi, metum proditionis fecere. Tum incubuit hostium acies integris ordinibus, robore et numero praestantior: Othoniani, quanquam dispersi pauciores fessi, proelium tamen acri-

diter sumpsere. Et per locos arboribus ac vineis inpetos non una pugnae facies: comminus eminus, catervis et cuneis concurrebant. In aggere viae conlato gradu corporibus et umbonibus niti, omisso pilorum iactu gladiis et securibus galeas loricasque perrumpere: noscentes inter se, ceteris conspicui in eventum totius belli certabant.

43 Forte inter Padum viamque patenti campo duae legiones congressae sunt, pro Vitellio unaetvicensima, cui cognomen Rapaci, vetere gloria insignis, e parte Othonis prima Adiutrix, non ante in aciem deducta, sed ferox et novi decoris avida. Primani stratis unaetvicensimanorum principiis aquilam abstulere; quo dolore accensa legio et inpulit rursus primanos, interfecto Orfidio Benigno legato, et plurima signa vexillaque ex hostibus rapuit. A parte alia propulsa quintanorum impetu tertia decuma legio, circumventi plurium adcursu quartadecumani. Et ducibus Othonis iam pridem profugis Caecina ac Valens subsidiis suos firmabant. Accessit recens auxilium, Varus Alfenus cum Batavis, fusa gladiatorum manu, quam navibus transvectam obpositae cohortes in ipso flumine trucidaverant: ita victores latus hostium invecti.

44 Et media acie perrupta fugere passim Othoniani, Bedriacum petentes. Inmensum id spatium, obstructae strage corporum viae, quo plus caedis fuit; neque enim civilibus bellis capti in praedam vertuntur. Suetonius Paulinus et Licinius Proculus diversis itineribus castra vitavere. Vedium Aquilam tertiae decumae legionis legatum irae militum inconsultus pavor obtulit. Multo adhuc die vallum ingressus clamore seditiosorum et fugacium circumstrepitur; non probris, non manibus abstinent; desertorem proditoremque increpant, nullo proprio

crimine eius, sed more vulgi suum quisque flagitium aliis obiectantes. Titianum et Celsum nox iuvit, dispositis iam excubiis conpressisque militibus, quos Annius Gallus consilio precibus auctoritate flexerat, ne super cladem adversae pugnae suismet ipsi caedibus saevirent: sive finis bello venisset, seu resumere arma mallent, unicum victis in consensu levamentum. Ceteris fractus animus: praetorianus miles non virtute se, sed proditione victum fremebat: ne Vitellianis quidem incruentam fuisse victoriam, pulso equite, rapta legionis aquila; superesse cum ipso Othone militum quod trans Padum fuerit, venire Moesicas legiones, magnam exercitus partem Bedriaci remansisse. Hos certe nondum victos, et si ita ferret, honestius in acie perituros. His cogitationibus truces aut pavidi extrema desperatione ad iram saepius quam in formidinem stimulabantur.

At Vitellianus exercitus ad quintum a Bedriaco lapidem **45** consedit, non ausis ducibus eadem die obpugnationem castrorum; simul voluntaria deditio sperabatur: sed expeditis et tantum ad proelium egressis munimentum fuere arma et victoria. Postera die haud ambigua Othoniani exercitus voluntate et qui ferociores fuerant ad paenitentiam inclinantibus missa legatio; nec apud duces Vitellianos dubitatum, quo minus pacem concederent. Legati paulisper retenti: ea res haesitationem attulit ignaris adhuc an impetrassent. Mox remissa legatione patuit vallum. Tum victi victoresque in lacrimas effusi, sortem civilium armorum misera laetitia detestantes; isdem tentoriis alii fratrum, alii propinquorum vulnera fovebant: spes et praemia in ambiguo, certa funera et luctus, nec quisquam adeo mali expers, ut non aliquam mortem maereret. Requisitum Orfidii legati corpus

honore solito crematur; paucos necessarii ipsorum sepelivere, ceterum vulgus super humum relictum.

46 Opperiebatur Otho nuntium pugnae nequaquam trepidus et consilii certus. Maesta primum fama, dein profugi e proelio perditas res patefaciunt. Non expectavit militum ardor vocem imperatoris; bonum haberet animum iubebant: superesse adhuc novas vires, et ipsos extrema passuros ausurosque. Neque erat adulatio: ire in aciem, excitare partium fortunam furore quodam et instinctu flagrabant. Qui procul adstiterant, tendere manus, et proximi prensare genua, promptissimo Plotio Firmo. Is praetorii praefectus identidem orabat, ne fidissimum exercitum, ne optime meritos milites desereret: maiore animo tolerari adversa quam relinqui; fortes et strenuos etiam contra fortunam insistere spei, timidos et ignavos ad desperationem formidine properare. Quas inter voces ut flexerat vultum aut induraverat Otho, clamor vel gemitus. Nec praetoriani tantum, proprius Othonis miles, sed praemissi e Moesia eandem obstinationem adventantis exercitus, legiones Aquileiam ingressas nuntiabant, ut nemo dubitet potuisse renovari bellum atrox lugubre incertum victis et victoribus.

47 Ipse aversus a consiliis belli 'Hunc' inquit 'animum, hanc virtutem vestram ultra periculis obicere nimis grande vitae meae pretium puto. Quanto plus spei ostenditis, si vivere placeret, tanto pulchrior mors erit. Experti in vicem sumus ego ac fortuna. Nec tempus conputaveritis: difficilius est temperare felicitati, qua te non putes diu usurum. Civile bellum a Vitellio coepit, et ut de principatu certaremus armis, initium illinc fuit: ne plus quam semel certemus, penes me exemplum erit; hinc Othonem posteritas aestimet. Fruetur Vitellius fratre coniuge

liberis: mihi non ultione neque solaciis opus est. Alii diutius imperium tenuerint: nemo tam fortiter reliquerit. An ego tantum Romanae pubis, tot egregios exercitus sterni rursus et rei publicae eripi patiar? Eat hic mecum animus, tanquam perituri pro me fueritis, sed este superstites. Nec diu moremur, ego incolumitatem vestram, vos constantiam meam. Plura de extremis loqui pars ignaviae est. Praecipuum destinationis meae documentum habete, quod de nemine queror; nam incusare deos vel homines eius est qui vivere velit.'

48 Talia locutus, ut cuique aetas aut dignitas, comiter appellatos, irent propere neu remanendo iram victoris asperarent, iuvenes auctoritate, senes precibus movebat, placidus ore, intrepidus verbis, intempestivas suorum lacrimas coërcens. Dari naves ac vehicula abeuntibus iubet; libellos epistulasque studio erga se aut in Vitellium contumeliis insignes abolet; pecunias distribuit parce nec ut periturus. Mox Salvium Cocceianum, fratris filium prima iuventa, trepidum et maerentem ultro solatus est, laudando pietatem eius, castigando formidinem: an Vitellium tam inmitis animi fore, ut pro incolumi tota domo ne hanc quidem sibi gratiam redderet? Mereri se festinato exitu clementiam victoris; non enim ultima desperatione, sed poscente proelium exercitu remisisse rei publicae novissimum casum. Satis sibi nominis, satis posteris suis nobilitatis quaesitum. Post Iulios Claudios Servios se primum in familiam novam imperium intulisse: proinde erecto animo capesseret vitam, neu patruum sibi Othonem fuisse aut oblivisceretur umquam aut nimium meminisset.

49 Post quae dimotis omnibus paulum requievit. Atque illum supremas iam curas animo volutantem repens

tumultus avertit, nuntiata consternatione ac licentia militum; namque abeuntibus exitium minitabantur, atrocissima in Verginium vi, quem clausa domo obsidebant. Increpitis seditionis auctoribus regressus vacavit abeuntium adloquiis, donec omnes inviolati digrederentur. Vesperascente die sitim haustu gelidae aquae sedavit. Tum adlatis pugionibus *duobus*, cum utrumque pertemptasset, alterum capiti subdidit. Et explorato iam profectos amicos, noctem quietam, utque adfirmatur, non insomnem egit: luce prima in ferrum pectore incubuit. Ad gemitum morientis ingressi liberti servique et Plotius Firmus praetorii praefectus unum vulnus invenere. Funus maturatum; ambitiosis id precibus petierat, ne amputaretur caput ludibrio futurum. Tulere corpus praetoriae cohortes cum laudibus et lacrimis, vulnus manusque eius exosculantes. Quidam militum iuxta rogum interfecere se, non noxa neque ob metum, sed aemulatione decoris et caritate principis. Ac postea promisce Bedriaci, Placentiae aliisque in castris celebratum id genus mortis. Othoni sepulchrum exstructum est modicum et mansurum. Hunc vitae finem habuit septimo et tricensimo aetatis anno.

50 Origo illi e municipio Ferentio, pater consularis, avus praetorius; maternum genus inpar nec tamen indecorum. Puericia ac iuventa, qualem monstravimus. Duobus facinoribus, altero flagitiosissimo, altero egregio, tantundem apud posteros meruit bonae famae quantum malae. Ut conquirere fabulosa et fictis oblectare legentium animos procul gravitate coepti operis crediderim, ita vulgatis traditisque demere fidem non ausim. Die, quo Bedriaci certabatur, avem invisitata specie apud Regium Lepidum celebri luco consedisse incolae memorant, nec

deinde coetu hominum aut circumvolitantium alitum territam pulsamve, donec Otho se ipse interficeret; tum ablatam ex oculis: et tempora reputantibus initium finemque miraculi cum Othonis exitu competisse.

In funere eius novata luctu ac dolore militum seditio, **51** nec erat qui coërceret. Ad Verginium versi, modo ut reciperet imperium, nunc ut legatione apud Caecinam ac Valentem fungeretur, minitantes orabant: Verginius per aversam domus partem furtim digressus inrumpentes frustratus est. Earum quae Brixelli egerant cohortium preces Rubrius Gallus tulit, et venia statim impetrata, concedentibus ad victorem per Flavium Sabinum iis copiis quibus praefuerat.

Posito ubique bello magna pars senatus extremum dis- **52** crimen adiit, profecta cum Othone ab urbe, dein Mutinae relicta. Illuc adverso de proelio adlatum: sed milites ut falsum rumorem aspernantes, quod infensum Othoni senatum arbitrabantur, custodire sermones, vultum habitumque trahere in deterius; conviciis postremo ac probris causam et initium caedis quaerebant, cum alius insuper metus senatoribus instaret, ne praevalidis iam Vitellii partibus cunctanter excepisse victoriam crederentur. Ita trepidi et utrimque anxii coeunt, nemo privatim expedito consilio, inter multos societate culpae tutior. Onerabat paventium curas ordo Mutinensis arma et pecuniam offerendo, appellabatque patres conscriptos intempestivo honore.

Notabile iurgium fuit, quo Licinius Caecina Marcellum **53** Eprium ut ambigua disserentem invasit. Nec ceteri sententiam aperiebant: sed invisum memoria delationum expositumque ad invidiam Marcelli nomen inritaverat Caecinam, ut novus adhuc et in senatum nuper adscitus

magnis inimicitiis claresceret. Moderatione meliorum dirempti: et rediere omnes Bononiam, rursus consiliaturi; simul medio temporis plures nuntii sperabantur. Bononiae, divisis per itinera qui recentissimum quemque percontarentur, interrogatus Othonis libertus causam digressus habere se suprema eius mandata respondit; ipsum viventem quidem relictum, sed sola posteritatis cura et abruptis vitae blandimentis. Hinc admiratio et plura interrogandi pudor, atque omnium animi in Vitellium inclinavere.

54 Intererat consiliis frater eius L. Vitellius seque iam adulantibus offerebat, cum repente Coenus libertus Neronis atroci mendacio universos perculit, adfirmans superventu quartae decumae legionis, iunctis a Brixello viribus, caesos victores, versam partium fortunam. Causa fingendi fuit, ut diplomata Othonis, quae neglegebantur, laetiore nuntio revalescerent. Et Coenus quidem raptim in urbem vectus paucos post dies iussu Vitellii poenas luit: senatorum periculum auctum credentibus Othonianis militibus vera esse quae adferebantur. Intendebat formidinem, quod publici consilii facie discessum Mutina desertaeque partes forent. Nec ultra in commune congressi sibi quisque consuluere, donec missae a Fabio Valente epistulae demerent metum. Et mors Othonis quo laudabilior, eo velocius audita.

55 At Romae nihil trepidationis; Ceriales ludi ex more spectabantur. Ut cessisse Othonem et a Flavio Sabino praefecto urbis quod erat in urbe militum sacramento Vitellii adactum certi auctores in theatrum adtulerunt, Vitellio plausere; populus cum lauru ac floribus Galbae imagines circum templa tulit, congestis in modum tumuli coronis iuxta lacum Curtii, quem locum Galba moriens

sanguine infecerat. In senatu cuncta longis aliorum principatibus composita statim decernuntur; additae erga Germanicum exercitum laudes gratesque et missa legatio, quae gaudio fungeretur. Recitatae Fabii Valentis epistulae ad consules scriptae haud immoderate: gratior Caecinae modestia fuit, quod non scripsisset.

Ceterum Italia gravius atque atrocius quam bello ad- **56**
flictabatur. Dispersi per municipia et colonias Vitelliani spoliare rapere, vi et stupris polluere: in omne fas nefasque avidi aut venales non sacro, non profano abstinebant. Et fuere qui inimicos suos specie militum interficerent. Ipsique milites regionum gnari refertos agros, dites dominos in praedam aut, si repugnatum foret, ad exitium destinabant, obnoxiis ducibus et prohibere non ausis. Minus avaritiae in Caecina, plus ambitionis: Valens ob lucra et quaestus infamis eoque alienae etiam culpae dissimulator. Iam pridem attritis Italiae rebus tanta peditum equitumque vis damnaque et iniuriae aegre tolerabantur.

Interim Vitellius victoriae suae nescius ut ad integrum **57**
bellum reliquas Germanici exercitus vires trahebat. Pauci veterum militum in hibernis relicti, festinatis per Gallias dilectibus, ut remanentium legionum nomina supplerentur. Cura ripae Hordeonio Flacco permissa; ipse e Britannico *exercitu* delecta octo milia sibi adiunxit. Et paucorum dierum iter progressus prosperas apud Bedriacum res ac morte Othonis concidisse bellum accepit: vocata contione virtutem militum laudibus cumulat. Postulante exercitu ut libertum suum Asiaticum equestri dignitate donaret, inhonestam adulationem conpescit; dein mobilitate ingenii, quod palam abnuerat, inter secreta convivii largitur, honoravitque Asiaticum anulis, foedum mancipium et malis artibus ambitiosum.

58 Isdem diebus accessisse partibus utramque Mauretaniam, interfecto procuratore Albino, nuntii venere, Lucceius Albinus a Nerone Mauretaniae Caesariensi praepositus, addita per Galbam Tingitanae provinciae administratione, haud spernendis viribus agebat. Decem novem cohortes, quinque alae, ingens Maurorum numerus aderat, per latrocinia et raptus apta bello manus. Caeso Galba in Othonem pronus nec Africa contentus Hispaniae angusto freto diremptae inminebat. Inde Cluvio Rufo metus, et decumam legionem propinquare litori ut transmissurus iussit; praemissi centuriones, qui Maurorum animos Vitellio conciliarent. Neque arduum fuit, magna per provincias Germanici exercitus fama; spargebatur insuper spreto procuratoris vocabulo Albinum insigne regis et Iubae nomen usurpare.

59 Ita mutatis animis Asinius Pollio alae praefectus, e fidissimis Albino, et Festus ac Scipio cohortium praefecti opprimuntur: ipse Albinus dum e Tingitana provincia Caesariensem Mauretaniam petit, in adpulsu litoris trucidatus; uxor eius cum se percussoribus obtulisset, simul interfecta est, nihil eorum quae fierent Vitellio anquirente: brevi auditu quamvis magna transibat, inpar curis gravioribus.

Exercitum itinere terrestri pergere iubet: ipse Arare flumine devehitur, nullo principali paratu, sed vetere egestate conspicuus, donec Iunius Blaesus Lugudunensis Galliae rector, genere illustri, largus animo et par opibus, circumdaret principi ministeria, comitaretur liberaliter, eo ipso ingratus, quamvis odium Vitellius vernilibus blanditiis velaret. Praesto fuere Luguduni victricium victarumque partium duces. Valentem et Caecinam pro contione laudatos curuli suae circumposuit. Mox uni-

versum exercitum occurrere infanti filio iubet, perlatumque et paludamento opertum sinu retinens Germanicum appellavit cinxitque cunctis fortunae principalis insignibus. Nimius honos inter secunda rebus adversis in solacium cessit.

Tum interfecti centuriones promptissimi Othonianorum, **60** unde praecipua in Vitellium alienatio per Illyricos exercitus; simul ceterae legiones contactu et adversus Germanicos milites invidia bellum meditabantur. Suetonium Paulinum ac Licinium Proculum tristi mora squalidos tenuit, donec auditi necessariis magis defensionibus quam honestis uterentur. Proditionem ultro inputabant, spatium longi ante proelium itineris, fatigationem Othonianorum, permixtum vehiculis agmen ac pleraque fortuita fraudi suae adsignantes. Et Vitellius credidit de perfidia et fidem absolvit. Salvius Titianus Othonis frater nullum discrimen adiit, pietate et ignavia excusatus. Mario Celso consulatus servatur: sed creditum fama obiectumque mox in senatu Caecilio Simplici, quod eum honorem pecunia mercari, nec sine exitio Celsi, voluisset: restitit Vitellius deditque postea consulatum Simplici innoxium et inemptum. Trachalum adversus criminantes Galeria uxor Vitellii protexit.

Inter magnorum virorum discrimina, pudendum dictu, **61** Mariccus quidam, e plebe Boiorum, inserere sese fortunae et provocare arma Romana simulatione numinum ausus est. Iamque adsertor Galliarum et deus (nam id sibi *nomen* indiderat) concitis octo milibus hominum proximos Aeduorum pagos trahebat, cum gravissima civitas electa iuventute, adiectis a Vitellio cohortibus, fanaticam multitudinem disiecit. Captus in eo proelio Mariccus ac mox feris obiectus quia non laniabatur, stolidum vul-

gus inviolabilem credebat, donec spectante Vitellio interfectus est.

62 Nec ultra in defectores aut bona cuiusquam saevitum: rata fuere eorum qui acie Othoniana ceciderant testamenta, aut lex intestatis: prorsus, si luxuriae temperaret, avaritiam non timeres. Epularum foeda et inexplebilis libido: ex urbe atque Italia irritamenta gulae gestabantur, strepentibus ab utroque mari itineribus; exhausti conviviorum apparatibus principes civitatum; vastabantur ipsae civitates; degenerabat a labore ac virtute miles adsuetudine voluptatum et contemptu ducis. Praemisit in urbem edictum, quo vocabulum Augusti differret, Caesaris non reciperet, cum de potestate nihil detraheret. Pulsi Italia mathematici; cautum severe, ne equites Romani ludo et harena polluerentur. Priores id principes pecunia et saepius vi perpulerant, ac pleraque municipia et coloniae aemulabantur corruptissimum quemque adulescentium pretio inlicere.

63 Sed Vitellius adventu fratris et inrepentibus dominationis magistris superbior et atrocior occidi Dolabellam iussit, quem in coloniam Aquinatem sepositum ab Othone rettulimus. Dolabella audita morte Othonis urbem introierat: id ei Plancius Varus praetura functus, ex intimis Dolabellae amicis, apud Flavium Sabinum praefectum urbis obiecit, tanquam rupta custodia ducem se victis partibus ostentasset; addidit temptatam cohortem, quae Ostiae ageret; nec ullis tantorum criminum probationibus in paenitentiam versus seram veniam post scelus quaerebat. Cunctantem super tanta re Flavium Sabinum Triaria L. Vitellii uxor, ultra feminam ferox, terruit ne periculo principis famam clementiae adfectaret. Sabinus suopte ingenio mitis, ubi formido incessisset, facilis mutatu

et in alieno discrimine sibi pavens, ne adlevasse videretur, inpulit ruentem.

Igitur Vitellius metu et odio, quod Petroniam uxorem **64** eius mox Dolabella in matrimonium accepisset, vocatum per epistulas vitata Flaminiae viae celebritate devertere Interamnam atque ibi interfici iussit. Longum interfectori visum: in itinere ac taberna proiectum humi iugulavit, magna cum invidia novi principatus, cuius hoc primum specimen noscebatur. Et Triariae licentiam modestum e proximo exemplum onerabat, Galeria imperatoris uxor non inmixta tristibus; et pari probitate mater Vitelliorum Sextilia, antiqui moris: dixisse quin etiam ad primas filii sui epistulas ferebatur, non Germanicum a se, sed Vitellium genitum. Nec ullis postea fortunae inlecebris aut ambitu civitatis in gaudium evicta domus suae tantum adversa sensit.

Digressum a Luguduno Vitellium Cluvius Rufus adse- **65** quitur omissa Hispania, laetitiam et gratulationem vultu ferens, animo anxius et petitum se criminationibus gnarus. Hilarus Caesaris libertus detulerat, tanquam audito Vitellii et Othonis principatu propriam ipse potentiam et possessionem Hispaniarum temptasset, eoque diplomatibus nullum principem praescripsisset; *et* interpretabatur quaedam ex orationibus eius contumeliosa in Vitellium et pro se ipso popularia. Auctoritas Cluvii praevaluit, ut puniri ultro libertum suum Vitellius iuberet. Cluvius comitatui principis adiectus, non adempta Hispania, quam rexit absens exemplo L. *Arruntii*. *Sed* Arruntium Tiberius Caesar ob metum, Vitellius Cluvium nulla formidine retinebat. Non idem Trebellio Maximo honos: profugerat Britannia ob iracundiam militum; missus est in locum eius Vettius Bolanus e praesentibus.

66 Angebat Vitellium victarum legionum haudquaquam fractus animus. Sparsae per Italiam et victoribus permixtae hostilia loquebantur, praecipua quartadecumanorum ferocia, qui se victos abnuebant: quippe Bedriacensi acie vexillariis tantum pulsis vires legionis non adfuisse. Remitti eos in Britanniam, unde a Nerone exciti erant, placuit atque interim Batavorum cohortes una tendere ob veterem adversus quartadecumanos discordiam. Nec diu in tantis armatorum odiis quies fuit: Augustae Taurinorum, dum opificem quendam Batavus ut fraudatorem insectatur, legionarius ut hospitem tuetur, sui cuique commilitones adgregati a conviciis ad caedem transiere. Et proelium atrox arsisset, ni duae praetoriae cohortes causam quartadecumanorum secutae his fiduciam et metum Batavis fecissent: quos Vitellius agmini suo iungi ut fidos, legionem Grais Alpibus traductam eo flexu itineris ire iubet, quo Viennam vitarent; namque et Viennenses timebantur. Nocte, qua proficiscebatur legio, relictis passim ignibus pars Taurinae coloniae ambusta, quod damnum, ut pleraque belli mala, maioribus aliarum urbium cladibus oblitteratum. Quartadecumani postquam Alpibus degressi sunt, seditiosissimus quisque signa Viennam ferebant: consensu meliorum conpressi et legio in Britanniam transvecta.

67 Proximus Vitellio e praetoriis cohortibus metus erat. Separati primum, deinde addito honestae missionis lenimento, arma ad tribunos suos deferebant, donec motum a Vespasiano bellum crebresceret: tum resumpta militia robur Flavianarum partium fuere. Prima classicorum legio in Hispaniam missa, ut pace et otio mitesceret, undecuma ac septima suis hibernis redditae, tertiadecumani struere amphitheatra iussi; nam Caecina Cremonae,

Valens Bononiae spectaculum gladiatorum edere parabant, numquam ita ad curas intento Vitellio, ut voluptatum oblivisceretur.

Et *victas* quidem partes modeste distraxerat: apud **68** victores orta seditio, ludicro initio, *ni* numerus caesorum invidiam Vitellio auxisset. Discubuerat Vitellius Ticini adhibito ad epulas Verginio. Legati tribunique ex moribus imperatorum severitatem aemulantur vel tempestivis conviviis gaudent; perinde miles intentus aut licenter agit. Apud Vitellium omnia indisposita temulenta, pervigiliis ac bacchanalibus quam disciplinae et castris propiora. Igitur duobus militibus, altero legionis quintae, altero e Gallis auxiliaribus, per lasciviam ad certamen luctandi accensis, postquam legionarius prociderat, insultante Gallo et iis qui ad spectandum convenerant in studia diductis, erupere legionarii in perniciem auxiliorum ac duae cohortes interfectae. Remedium tumultus fuit alius tumultus. Pulvis procul et arma adspiciebantur: conclamatum repente quartam decumam legionem verso itinere ad proelium venire; sed erant agminis coactores: agniti dempsere sollicitudinem. Interim Verginii servus forte obvius ut percussor Vitellii insimulatur: et ruebat ad convivium miles, mortem Verginii exposcens. Ne Vitellius quidem, quanquam ad omnes suspiciones pavidus, de innocentia eius dubitavit: aegre tamen cohibiti qui exitium consularis et quondam ducis sui flagitabant. Nec quemquam saepius quam Verginium omnis seditio infestavit: manebat admiratio viri et fama, sed oderant ut fastiditi.

Postero die Vitellius senatus legatione, quam ibi op- **69** periri iusserat, audita transgressus in castra ultro pietatem militum conlaudavit, frementibus auxiliis tantum im-

punitatis atque adrogantiae legionariis accessisse. Batavorum cohortes, ne quid truculentius auderent, in Germaniam remissae, principium interno simul externoque bello parantibus fatis. Reddita civitatibus Gallorum auxilia, ingens numerus et prima statim defectione inter inania belli adsumptus. Ceterum ut largitionibus adfectae iam imperii opes sufficerent, amputari legionum auxiliorumque numeros iubet vetitis supplementis; et promiscae missiones offerebantur. Exitiabile id rei publicae, ingratum militi, cui eadem munia inter paucos periculaque ac labor crebrius redibant: et vires luxu corrumpebantur, contra veterem disciplinam et instituta maiorum, apud quos virtute quam pecunia res Romana melius stetit.

70 Inde Vitellius Cremonam flexit et spectato munere Caecinae insistere Bedriacensibus campis ac vestigia recentis victoriae lustrare oculis concupivit. Foedum atque atrox spectaculum intra quadragensimum pugnae diem: lacera corpora, trunci artus, putres virorum equorumque formae, infecta tabo humus, protritis arboribus ac frugibus dira vastitas. Nec minus inhumana pars viae, quam Cremonenses lauru rosaque constraverant, extructis altaribus caesisque victimis regium in morem; quae laeta in praesens mox perniciem ipsis fecere. Aderant Valens et Caecina, monstrabantque pugnae locos: hinc inrupisse legionum agmen, hinc equites coortos, inde circumfusas auxiliorum manus: iam tribuni praefectique sua quisque facta extollentes falsa vera aut maiora vero miscebant. Vulgus quoque militum clamore et gaudio deflectere via, spatia certaminum recognoscere, aggerem armorum, strues corporum intueri mirari; et erant quos varia sors rerum lacrimaeque et misericordia subiret. At non

Vitellius flexit oculos nec tot milia insepultorum civium exhorruit: laetus ultro et tam propinquae sortis ignarus instaurabat sacrum dis loci.

Exin Bononiae a Fabio Valente gladiatorum spectaculum editur, advecto ex urbe cultu. Quantoque magis propinquabat, tanto corruptius iter inmixtis histrionibus et spadonum gregibus et cetero Neronianae aulae ingenio; namque et Neronem ipsum Vitellius admiratione celebrabat, sectari cantantem solitus, non necessitate, qua honestissimus quisque, sed luxu et saginae mancipatus emptusque. Ut Valenti et Caecinae vacuos honoris menses aperiret, coartati aliorum consulatus, dissimulatus Marti Macri tanquam Othonianarum partium ducis; et Valerium Marinum destinatum a Galba consulem distulit, nulla offensa, sed mitem et iniuriam segniter laturum. Pedanius Costa omittitur, ingratus principi ut adversus Neronem ausus et Verginii extimulator, sed alias protulit causas; actaeque insuper Vitellio gratiae consuetudine servitii. **71**

Non ultra paucos dies quanquam acribus initiis coeptum mendacium valuit. Extiterat quidam Scribonianum se Camerinum ferens, Neronianorum temporum metu in Histria occultatum, quod illic clientelae et agri veterum Crassorum ac nominis favor manebat. Igitur deterrimo quoque in argumentum fabulae adsumpto vulgus credulum et quidam militum, errore veri seu turbarum studio, certatim adgregabantur, cum pertractus ad Vitellium interrogatusque, quisnam mortalium esset. Postquam nulla dictis fides et a domino noscebatur condicione fugitivus, nomine Geta, sumptum de eo supplicium in servilem modum. **72**

Vix credibile memoratu est, quantum superbiae socor- **73**

diaeque Vitellio adoleverit, postquam speculatores e Syria Iudaeaque adactum in verba eius Orientem nuntiavere. Nam etsi vagis adhuc et incertis auctoribus, erat tamen in ore famaque Vespasianus ac plerumque ad nomen eius Vitellius excitabatur: tum ipse exercitusque, ut nullo aemulo, saevitia libidine raptu in externos mores proruperant.

74 At Vespasianus bellum armaque et procul vel iuxta sitas vires circumspectabat. Miles ipsi adeo paratus, ut praeeuntem sacramentum et fausta Vitellio omnia precantem per silentium audierint; Muciani animus nec Vespasiano alienus et in Titum pronior; praefectus Aegypti *Ti.* Alexander consilia sociaverat; tertiam legionem, quod e Syria in Moesiam transisset, suam numerabat; ceterae Illyrici legiones secuturae sperabantur; namque omnis exercitus flammaverat adrogantia venientium a Vitellio militum, quod truces corpore, horridi sermone ceteros ut inpares inridebant. Sed in tanta mole belli plerumque cunctatio; et Vespasianus modo in spem erectus, aliquando adversa reputabat: quis ille dies foret, quo sexaginta aetatis annos et duos filios iuvenes bello permitteret? Esse privatis cogitationibus progressum, et prout velint, plus minusve sumi ex fortuna: imperium cupientibus nihil medium inter summa aut praecipitia.

75 Versabatur ante oculos Germanici exercitus robur, notum viro militari: suas legiones civili bello inexpertas, Vitellii victrices, et apud victos plus querimoniarum quam virium. Fluxam per discordias militum fidem et periculum ex singulis: quid enim profuturas cohortes alasque, si unus alterve praesenti facinore paratum ex diverso praemium petat? Sic Scribonianum sub Claudio interfectum, sic percussorem eius Volaginium e gregario ad summa

militiae provectum: facilius universos inpelli quam singulos vitari.

His pavoribus nutantem et alii legati amicique firma- **76**
bant et Mucianus, post multos secretosque sermones iam et coram ita locutus: 'Omnes, qui magnarum rerum consilia suscipiunt, aestimare debent, an quod incohatur rei publicae utile, ipsis gloriosum, an promptum effectu aut certe non arduum sit; simul ipse qui suadet considerandus est, adiciatne consilio periculum suum, et si fortuna coeptis adfuerit, cui summum decus adquiratur. Ego te, Vespasiane, ad imperium voco, quam salutare rei publicae, quam tibi magnificum, iuxta deos in tua manu positum est. Nec speciem adulantis expaveris: a contumelia quam a laude propius fuerit post Vitellium eligi. Non adversus divi Augusti acerrimam mentem nec adversus cautissimam Tiberii senectutem, ne contra Gai quidem aut Claudii vel Neronis fundatam longo imperio domum exsurgimus; cessisti etiam Galbae imaginibus: torpere ultra et polluendam perdendamque rem publicam relinquere sopor et ignavia videretur, etiam si tibi quam inhonesta, tam tuta servitus esset. Abiit iam et transvectum est tempus, quo posses videri concupisse: confugiendum est ad imperium. An excidit trucidatus Corbulo? splendidior origine quam nos sumus, fateor, sed et Nero nobilitate natalium Vitellium anteibat. Satis clarus est apud timentem quisquis timetur. Et posse ab exercitu principem fieri sibi ipse Vitellius documento, nullis stipendiis, nulla militari fama, Galbae odio provectus. Ne Othonem quidem ducis arte aut exercitus vi, sed praepropera ipsius desperatione victum, iam desiderabilem et magnum principem fecit, cum interim spargit legiones, exarmat cohortes, nova cotidie bello semina ministrat. Si quid ardoris ac

ferociae miles habuit, popinis et comissationibus et principis imitatione deteritur: tibi e Iudaea et Syria et Aegypto novem legiones integrae, nulla acie exhaustae, non discordia corruptae, sed firmatus usu miles et belli domitor externi; classium alarum cohortium robora et fidissimi reges et tua ante omnis experientia.'

77 'Nobis nihil ultra adrogabo, quam ne post Valentem et Caecinam numeremur: ne tamen Mucianum socium spreveris, quia aemulum non experiris. Me Vitellio antepono, te mihi. Tuae domui triumphale nomen, duo iuvenes, capax iam imperii alter et primis militiae annis apud Germanicos quoque exercitus clarus. Absurdum fuerit non cedere imperio ei, cuius filium adoptaturus essem, si ipse imperarem. Ceterum inter nos non idem prosperarum adversarumque rerum ordo erit: nam si vincimus, honorem, quem dederis, habebo: discrimen ac pericula ex aequo patiemur. Immo, ut melius est, *tu* tuos exercitus rege, mihi bellum et proeliorum incerta trade. Acriore hodie disciplina victi quam victores agunt. Hos ira odium ultionis cupiditas ad virtutem accendit: illi per fastidium et contumacia hebescunt. Aperiet et recludet contecta et tumescentia victricium partium vulnera bellum ipsum; nec mihi maior in tua vigilantia parsimonia sapientia fiducia est quam in Vitellii torpore inscitia saevitia. Sed meliorem in bello causam quam in pace habemus; nam qui deliberant, desciverunt.'

78 Post Muciani orationem ceteri audentius circumsistere hortari, responsa vatum et siderum motus referre. Nec erat intactus tali superstitione, ut qui mox rerum dominus Seleucum quendam mathematicum rectorem et praescium palam habuerit. Recursabant animo vetera omina: cupressus arbor in agris eius conspicua altitudine repente

prociderat ac postera die eodem vestigio resurgens procera et laetior virebat. Grande id prosperumque consensu haruspicum et summa claritudo iuveni admodum Vespasiano promissa, sed primo triumphalia et consulatus et Iudaicae victoriae decus inplesse fidem ominis videbantur: ut haec adeptus est, portendi sibi imperium credebat. Est Iudaeam inter Syriamque Carmelus: ita vocant montem deumque. Nec simulacrum deo aut templum (sic tradidere maiores); ara tantum et reverentia. Illic sacrificanti Vespasiano, cum spes occultas versaret animo, Basilides sacerdos inspectis identidem extis 'Quidquid est' inquit, 'Vespasiane, quod paras, seu domum extruere seu prolatare agros sive ampliare servitia, datur tibi magna sedes, ingentes termini, multum hominum.' Has ambages et statim exceperat fama et tunc aperiebat; nec quicquam magis in ore vulgi. Crebriores apud ipsum sermones, quanto sperantibus plura dicuntur. Haud dubia destinatione discessere Mucianus Antiochiam, Vespasianus Caesaream: illa Syriae, hoc Iudaeae caput est.

Initium ferendi ad Vespasianum imperii Alexandriae **79** coeptum, festinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui kalendis Iuliis sacramento eius legiones adegit. Isque primus principatus dies in posterum celebratus, quamvis Iudaicus exercitus quinto nonas Iulias apud ipsum iurasset eo ardore ut ne Titus quidem filius expectaretur, Syria remeans et consiliorum inter Mucianum ac patrem nuntius. Cuncta impetu militum acta non parata contione, non coniunctis legionibus.

Dum quaeritur tempus locus quodque in re tali difficil- **80** limum est, prima vox, dum animo spes timor, ratio casus obversantur, egressum cubiculo Vespasianum pauci milites, solito adsistentes ordine ut legatum salutaturi, impera-

torem salutavere: tum ceteri adcurrere, Caesarem et Augustum et omnia principatus vocabula cumulare. Mens a metu ad fortunam transierat: in ipso nihil tumidum adrogans aut in rebus novis novum fuit. Ut primum tantae altitudinis obfusam oculis caliginem disiecit, militariter locutus laeta omnia et affluentia excepit; namque id ipsum opperiens Mucianus alacrem militem in verba Vespasiani adegit. Tum Antiochensium theatrum ingressus, ubi illis consultare mos est, concurrentes et in adulationem effusos adloquitur, satis decorus etiam Graeca facundia, omniumque quae diceret atque ageret arte quadam ostentator. Nihil aeque provinciam exercitumque accendit quam quod adseverabat Mucianus, statuisse Vitellium, ut Germanicas legiones in Syriam ad militiam opulentam quietamque transferret, contra Syriacis legionibus Germanica hiberna caelo ac laboribus dura mutarentur. Quippe et provinciales sueto militum contubernio gaudebant, plerique necessitudinibus et propinquitatibus mixti, et militibus vetustate stipendiorum nota et familiaria castra in modum penatium diligebantur.

81 Ante idus Iulias Syria omnis in eodem sacramento fuit. Accessere cum regno Sohaemus haud spernendis viribus, Antiochus vetustis opibus ingens et servientium regum ditissimus. Mox per occultos suorum nuntios excitus ab urbe Agrippa, ignaro adhuc Vitellio, celeri navigatione properaverat. Nec minore animo regina Berenice partes iuvabat, florens aetate formaque et seni quoque Vespasiano magnificentia munerum grata. Quidquid provinciarum adluitur mari Asia atque Achaia tenus, quantumque introrsus in Pontum et Armenios patescit, iuravere; sed inermes legati regebant, nondum additis Cappadociae legionibus. Consilium de summa rerum Beryti habitum.

Illuc Mucianus cum legatis tribunisque et splendidissimo quoque centurionum ac militum venit, et e Iudaico exercitu lecta decora: tantum simul peditum equitumque et aemulantium inter se regum paratus speciem fortunae principalis effecerant.

Prima belli cura agere dilectus, revocare veteranos; **82** destinantur validae civitates exercendis armorum officinis, apud Antiochenses aurum argentumque signatur, eaque cuncta per idoneos ministros suis quidque locis festinabantur. Ipse Vespasianus adire hortari bonos laude, segnes exemplo incitare saepius quam coercere, vitia magis amicorum quam virtutes dissimulans. Multos praefecturis et procurationibus, plerosque senatorii ordinis honore percoluit, egregios viros et mox summa adeptos; quibusdam fortuna pro virtutibus fuit. Donativum militi neque Mucianus prima contione nisi modice ostenderat, ne Vespasianus quidem plus civili bello obtulit quam alii in pace, egregie firmus adversus militarem largitionem eoque exercitu meliore. Missi ad Parthum Armeniumque legati, provisumque, ne versis ad civile bellum legionibus terga nudarentur. Titum instare Iudaeae, Vespasianum obtinere claustra Aegypti placuit: sufficere videbantur adversus Vitellium pars copiarum et dux Mucianus et Vespasiani nomen ac nihil arduum fatis. Ad omnes exercitus legatosque scriptae epistulae praeceptumque, ut praetorianos Vitellio infensos reciperandae militiae praemio invitarent.

Mucianus cum expedita manu, socium magis imperii **83** quam ministrum agens, non lento itinere, ne cunctari videretur, neque tamen properans, gliscere famam ipso spatio sinebat, gnarus modicas vires sibi et maiora credi de absentibus; sed legio sexta et tredecim vexillariorum

milia ingenti agmine sequebantur. Classem e Ponto Byzantium adigi iusserat, ambiguus consilii, num omissa Moesia Dyrrachium pedite atque equite, simul longis navibus versum in Italiam mare clauderet, tuta pone tergum Achaia Asiaque, quas inermes exponi Vitellio, ni praesidiis firmarentur; atque ipsum Vitellium in incerto fore, quam partem Italiae protegeret, si Brundisium Tarentumque et Calabriae Lucaniaeque litora infestis classibus peterentur.

84 Igitur navium militum armorum paratu strepere provinciae, sed nihil aeque fatigabat quam pecuniarum conquisitio: eos esse belli civilis nervos dictitans Mucianus non ius aut verum in cognitionibus, sed solam magnitudinem opum spectabat. Passim delationes, et locupletissimus quisque in praedam correpti. Quae gravia atque intoleranda, sed necessitate armorum excusata etiam in pace mansere, ipso Vespasiano inter initia imperii ad optinendas iniquitates haud perinde obstinante, donec indulgentia fortunae et pravis magistris didicit aususque est. Propriis quoque opibus Mucianus bellum iuvit, largus privatim, quo avidius de re publica sumeret. Ceteri conferendarum pecuniarum exemplum secuti, rarissimus quisque eandem in reciperando licentiam habuerunt.

85 Adcelerata interim Vespasiani coepta Illyrici exercitus studio transgressi in partes. Tertia legio exemplum ceteris Moesiae legionibus praebuit: octava erat ac septima Claudiana, inbutae favore Othonis, quamvis proelio non interfuissent. Aquileiam progressae, proturbatis qui de Othone nuntiabant laceratisque vexillis nomen Vitellii praeferentibus, rapta postremo pecunia et inter se divisa, hostiliter egerant. Unde metus et ex metu consilium, posse inputari Vespasiano quae apud Vitellium excusanda

erant. Ita tres Moesicae legiones per epistulas adliciebant Pannonicum exercitum aut abnuenti vim parabant. In eo motu Aponius Saturninus Moesiae rector pessimum facinus audet, misso centurione ad interficiendum Tettium Iulianum septimae legionis legatum ob simultates, quibus causam partium praetendebat. Iulianus comperto discrimine et gnaris locorum adscitis per avia Moesiae ultra montem Haemum profugit; nec deinde civili bello interfuit, per varias moras susceptum ad Vespasianum iter trahens et ex nuntiis cunctabundus aut properans.

86 At in Pannonia tertia decuma legio ac septima Galbiana, dolorem iramque Bedriacensis pugnae retinentes, haud cunctanter Vespasiano accessere, vi praecipua Primi Antonii. Is legibus nocens et tempore Neronis falsi damnatus inter alia belli mala senatorium ordinem reciperaverat. Praepositus a Galba septumae legioni scriptitasse Othoni credebatur, ducem se partibus offerens; a quo neglectus in nullo Othoniani belli usu fuit. Labantibus Vitellii rebus Vespasianum secutus grande momentum addidit, strenuus manu, sermone promptus, serendae in alios invidiae artifex, discordiis et seditionibus potens, raptor largitor, pace pessimus, bello non spernendus. Iuncti inde Moesici ac Pannonici exercitus Delmaticum militem traxere, quanquam consularibus legatis nihil turbantibus. Tampius Flavianus Pannoniam, Pompeius Silvanus Delmatiam tenebant, divites senes; sed procurator aderat Cornelius Fuscus, vigens aetate, claris natalibus. Prima iuventa quaestus cupidine senatorium ordinem exuerat; idem pro Galba dux coloniae suae, eaque opera procurationem adeptus, susceptis Vespasiani partibus acerrimam bello facem praetulit: non tam praemiis periculorum quam ipsis periculis laetus pro certis et olim par-

tis nova ambigua ancipitia malebat. Igitur movere et quatere, quidquid usquam aegrum foret, adgrediuntur. Scriptae in Britanniam ad quartadecumanos, in Hispaniam ad primanos epistulae, quod utraque legio pro Othone, adversa Vitellio fuerat; sparguntur per Gallias litterae; momentoque temporis flagrabat ingens bellum, Illyricis exercitibus palam desciscentibus, ceteris fortunam secuturis.

87 Dum haec per provincias a Vespasiano ducibusque partium geruntur, Vitellius contemptior in dies segniorque, ad omnis municipiorum villarumque amoenitates resistens, gravi urbem agmine petebat. Sexaginta milia armatorum sequebantur, licentia corrupta; calonum numerus amplior, procacissimis etiam inter servos lixarum ingeniis; tot legatorum amicorumque comitatus inhabilis ad parendum, etiam si summa modestia regetur. Onerabant multitudinem obvii ex urbe senatores equitesque, quidam metu, multi per adulationem, ceteri ac paulatim omnes, ne aliis proficiscentibus ipsi remanerent. Adgregabantur e plebe flagitiosa per obsequia Vitellio cogniti, scurrae histriones aurigae, quibus ille amicitiarum dehonestamentis mire gaudebat. Nec coloniae modo aut municipia congestu copiarum, sed ipsi cultores arvaque maturis iam frugibus ut hostile solum vastabantur.

88 Multae et atroces inter se militum caedes, post seditionem Ticini coeptam manente legionum auxiliorumque discordia, ubi adversus paganos certandum foret, consensu. Sed plurima strages ad septimum ab urbe lapidem. Singulis ibi militibus Vitellius paratos cibos ut gladiatoriam saginam dividebat, et effusa plebes totis se castris miscuerat. Incuriosos milites (vernacula utebantur urbanitate) quidam spoliavere, abscisis furtim balteis, an accincti forent

rogitantes. Non tulit ludibrium insolens contumeliarum animus: inermem populum gladiis invasere. Caesus inter alios pater militis, cum filium comitaretur; deinde adgnitus et vulgata caede temperatum ab innoxiis. In urbe tamen trepidatum praecurrentibus passim militibus; forum maxime petebant, cupidine visendi locum, in quo Galba iacuisset. Nec minus saevum spectaculum erant ipsi, tergis ferarum et ingentibus telis horrentes, cum turbam populi per inscitiam parum vitarent, aut ubi lubrico viae vel occursu alicuius procidissent, ad iurgium, mox ad manus et ferrum transirent. Quin et tribuni praefectique cum terrore et armatorum catervis volitabant.

Ipse Vitellius a ponte Mulvio insigni equo, paludatus **89** accinctusque, senatum et populum ante se agens, quo minus ut captam urbem ingrederetur, amicorum consilio deterritus, sumpta praetexta et composito agmine incessit. Quattuor legionum aquilae per frontem totidemque circa e legionibus aliis vexilla, mox duodecim alarum signa et post peditum ordines eques, dein quattuor et triginta cohortes, ut nomina gentium aut species armorum forent, discretae. Ante aquilas praefecti castrorum tribunique et primi centurionum candida veste, ceteri iuxta suam quisque centuriam, armis donisque fulgentes; et militum phalerae torquesque splendebant: decora facies et non Vitellio principe dignus exercitus. Sic Capitolium ingressus atque ibi matrem complexus Augustae nomine honoravit.

Postera die tanquam apud alterius civitatis senatum **90** populumque magnificam orationem de semet ipse prompsit, industriam temperantiamque suam laudibus adtollens, consciis flagitiorum ipsis qui aderant omnique Italia, per quam somno et luxu pudendus incesserat. Vulgus tamen

vacuum curis et sine falsi verique discrimine solitas adulationes edoctum clamore et vocibus adstrepebat; abnuentique nomen Augusti expressere ut adsumeret, tam frustra quam recusaverat.

91 Apud civitatem cuncta interpretantem funesti ominis loco acceptum est, quod maximum pontificatum adeptus Vitellius de caerimoniis publicis XV kalendas Augustas edixisset, antiquitus infausto die Cremerensi Alliensique cladibus: adeo omnis humani divinique iuris expers, pari libertorum amicorum socordia, velut inter temulentos agebat. Sed comitia consulum cum candidatis civiliter celebrans omnem infimae plebis rumorem in theatro ut spectator, in circo ut fautor adfectavit: quae grata sane et popularia, si a virtutibus proficiscerentur, memoria vitae prioris indecora et vilia accipiebantur. Ventitabat in senatum, etiam cum parvis de rebus patres consulerentur. Ac forte Priscus Helvidius praetor designatus contra studium eius censuerat. Commotus primo Vitellius, non tamen ultra quam tribunos plebis in auxilium spretae potestatis advocavit; mox mitigantibus amicis, qui altiorem iracundiam eius verebantur, nihil novi accidisse respondit, quod duo senatores in re publica dissentirent; solitum se etiam Thraseae contra dicere. Inrisere plerique inpudentiam aemulationis; aliis id ipsum placebat, quod neminem ex praepotentibus, sed Thraseam ad exemplar verae gloriae legisset.

92 Praeposuerat praetorianis Publilium Sabinum a praefectura cohortis, Iulium Priscum tum centurionem: Priscus Valentis, Sabinus Caecinae gratia pollebant; inter discordes Vitellio nihil auctoritatis. Munia imperii Caecina ac Valens obibant, olim anxii odiis, quae bello et castris male dissimulata pravitas amicorum et fecunda

gignendis inimicitiis civitas auxerat, dum ambitu comitatu et inmensis salutantium agminibus contendunt comparanturque, variis in hunc aut illum Vitellii inclinationibus. Nec umquam satis fida potentia, ubi nimia est. Simul ipsum Vitellium, subitis offensis aut intempestivis blanditiis mutabilem, contemnebant metuebantque. Nec eo segnius invaserant domos hortos opesque imperii, cum flebilis et egens nobilium turba, quos ipsos liberosque patriae Galba reddiderat, nulla principis misericordia iuvarentur. Gratum primoribus civitatis etiam plebs adprobavit, quod reversis ab exilio iura libertorum concessisset, quanquam id omni modo servilia ingenia corrumpebant, abditis pecuniis per occultos aut ambitiosos sinus, et quidam in domum Caesaris transgressi atque ipsis dominis potentiores.

Sed miles, plenis castris et redundante multitudine, **93** in porticibus aut delubris et urbe tota vagus, non principia noscere, non servare vigilias neque labore firmari: per inlecebras urbis et inhonesta dictu corpus otio, animum libidinibus imminuebant. Postremo, ne salutis quidem cura: infamibus Vaticani locis magna pars tetendit, unde crebrae in vulgus mortes; et adiacente Tiberi Germanorum Gallorumque obnoxia morbis corpora fluminis aviditate et aestus inpatientia labefacta. Confusus insuper pravitate vel ambitu ordo militiae: sedecim praetoriae, quattuor urbanae cohortes scribebantur, quis singula milia inessent. Plus in eo dilectu Valens audebat, tanquam ipsum Caecinam periculo exemisset. Sane adventu eius partes convaluerant, et sinistrum lenti itineris rumorem prospero proelio verterat. Omnisque inferioris Germaniae miles Valentem adsectabatur, unde primum creditur Caecinae fides fluitasse.

94 Ceterum non ita ducibus indulsit Vitellius, ut non plus militi liceret. Sibi quisque militiam sumpsere: quamvis indignus, si ita maluerat, urbanae militiae adscribebatur; rursus bonis remanere inter legionarios aut alares volentibus permissum. Nec deerant qui vellent, fessi morbis et intemperiem caeli incusantes; robora tamen legionibus alisque subtracta, convulsum castrorum decus, viginti milibus e toto exercitu permixtis magis quam electis.

Contionante Vitellio postulantur ad supplicium Asiaticus et Flavus et Rufinus duces Galliarum, quod pro Vindice bellassent. Nec coercebat eius modi voces Vitellius: super insitam animo ignaviam conscius sibi instare donativum et deesse pecuniam omnia alia militi largiebatur. Liberti principum conferre pro numero mancipiorum ut tributum iussi: ipse sola perdendi cura stabula aurigis extruere, circum gladiatorum ferarumque spectaculis opplere, tanquam in summa abundantia pecuniae inludere.

95 Quin et natalem Vitellii diem Caecina ac Valens editis tota urbe vicatim gladiatoribus celebravere ingenti paratu et ante illum diem insolito. Laetum foedissimo cuique apud bonos invidiae fuit, quod extructis in campo Martio aris inferias Neroni fecisset. Caesae publice victimae crematae que; facem Augustales subdidere, quod sacerdotium, ut Romulus Tatio regi, ita Caesar Tiberius Iuliae genti sacravit. Nondum quartus a victoria mensis, et libertus Vitellii Asiaticus Polyclitos Patrobios et vetera odiorum nomina aequabat. Nemo in illa aula probitate aut industria certavit: unum ad potentiam iter, prodigis epulis et sumptu ganeaque satiare inexplebiles Vitellii libidines. Ipse abunde ratus, si praesentibus frueretur, nec in longius consultans, noviens miliens sestertium paucissimis mensibus intervertisse creditur sagina. At misera

civitas, eodem anno Othonem Vitellium passa, inter Vinios Fabios, Icelos Asiaticos varia et pudenda sorte agebat, donec successere Mucianus et Marcellus et magis alii homines quam alii mores.

Prima Vitellio tertiae legionis defectio nuntiatur, missis **96** ab Aponio Saturnino epistulis, antequam is quoque Vespasiani partibus adgregaretur; sed neque Aponius cuncta, ut trepidans re subita, perscripserat, et amici adulantes mollius interpretabantur: unius legionis eam seditionem, ceteris exercitibus constare fidem. In hunc modum etiam Vitellius apud milites disseruit, praetorianos nuper exauctoratos insectatus, a quibus falsos rumores dispergi, nec ullum civilis belli metum adseverabat, suppresso Vespasiani nomine et vagis per urbem militibus, qui sermones populi coërcerent. Id praecipuum alimentum famae erat.

Auxilia tamen e Germania Britanniaque et Hispaniis **97** excivit segniter et necessitatem dissimulans. Perinde legati provinciaeque cunctabantur, Hordeonius Flaccus suspectis iam Batavis anxius proprio bello, Vettius Bolanus numquam satis quieta Britannia, et uterque ambigui. Neque ex Hispaniis properabatur, nullo tum ibi consulari: trium legionum legati, pares iure et prosperis Vitellii rebus certaturi ad obsequium, adversam eius fortunam ex aequo detrectabant. In Africa legio cohortesque delectae a Clodio Macro, mox a Galba dimissae, rursus iussu Vitellii militiam cepere; simul cetera iuventus dabat inpigre nomina. Quippe integrum illic ac favorabilem proconsulatum Vitellius, famosum invisumque Vespasianus egerat: proinde socii de imperio utriusque coniectabant, sed experimentum contra fuit. Ac primo Valerius Festus **98** legatus studia provincialium cum fide iuvit; mox nutabat,

palam epistulis edictisque Vitellium, occultis nuntiis Vespasianum fovens et haec illave defensurus, prout invaluissent.

Deprehensi cum litteris edictisque Vespasiani per Raetiam et Gallias militum et centurionum quidam ad Vitellium missi necantur; plures fefellere, fide amicorum aut suomet astu occultati. Ita Vitellii paratus noscebantur, Vespasiani consiliorum pleraque ignota, primum socordia Vitellii, dein Pannonicae Alpes praesidiis insessae nuntios retinebant. Mare quoque etesiarum flatu in Orientem navigantibus secundum, inde adversum erat.

99 Tandem inruptione hostium atrocibus undique nuntiis exterritus Caecinam ac Valentem expedire ad bellum iubet. Praemissus Caecina, Valentem e gravi corporis morbo tum primum adsurgentem infirmitas tardabat. Longe alia proficiscentis ex urbe Germanici exercitus species: non vigor corporibus, non ardor animis; lentum et rarum agmen, fluxa arma, segnes equi; inpatiens solis pulveris tempestatum, quantumque hebes ad sustinendum laborem miles, tanto ad discordias promptior. Accedebat huc Caecinae ambitio vetus, torpor recens, nimia fortunae indulgentia soluti in luxum, seu perfidiam meditanti infringere exercitus virtutem inter artes erat. Credidere plerique Flavii Sabini consiliis concussam Caecinae mentem, ministro sermonum Rubrio Gallo: rata apud Vespasianum fore pacta transitionis. Simul odiorum invidiaeque erga Fabium Valentem admonebatur, ut inpar apud Vitellium gratiam viresque apud novum principem pararet.

100 Caecina e complexu Vitellii multo cum honore digressus partem equitum ad occupandam Cremonam praemisit. Mox vexilla primae quartae quintaedecumae sextae-

decumae legionum, dein quinta et duoetvicensima secutae; postremo agmine unaetvicensima Rapax et prima Italica incessere cum vexillariis trium Britannicarum legionum et electis auxiliis. Profecto Caecina scripsit Fabius Valens exercitui, quem ipse ductaverat, ut in itinere opperiretur: sic sibi cum Caecina convenisse. Qui praesens eoque validior mutatum id consilium finxit, ut ingruenti bello tota mole occurreretur. Ita adcelerare legiones Cremonam, pars Hostiliam petere iussae: ipse Ravennam devertit praetexto classem adloquendi; mox Patavi secretum componendae proditionis quaesitum. Namque Lucilius Bassus post praefecturam alae Ravennati simul ac Misenensi classibus a Vitellio praepositus, quod non statim praefecturam praetorii adeptus foret, iniquam iracundiam flagitiosa perfidia ulciscebatur. Nec sciri potest traxeritne Caecinam, an, quod evenit inter malos, eadem illos pravitas inpulerit. Scriptores temporum, qui potiente rerum **101** Flavia domo monimenta belli huiusce composuerunt, curam pacis et amorem rei publicae, corruptas in adulationem causas, tradidere: nobis super insitam levitatem et prodito Galba vilem mox fidem aemulatione etiam invidiaque, ne ab aliis apud Vitellium anteirentur, pervertisse ipsi Vitellium videntur. Caecina legiones adsecutus centurionum militumque animos obstinatos pro Vitellio variis artibus subruebat: Basso eadem molienti minor difficultas erat, lubrica ad mutandam fidem classe ob memoriam recentis pro Othone militiae.

NOTES

1–3. Preface: defects of previous historians, — **Tacitus will be impartial**, 1; sketch of the period to be covered, 2–3.

1. initium: a history of the Flavian dynasty (69–96 A.D.) of necessity included the circumstances which brought Vespasian to the throne. January, 69, was an eventful month both in Rome and on the Rhine, — Galba assassinated, and succeeded by Otho, shortly after Vitellius had been proclaimed emperor in Germany; Intr. 4. — **iterum**: he had been consul in 33, under Tiberius, who then predicted that he would be emperor; *Ann.* 6, 20. — **viginti**: in a less rhetorical context the exact number might have been given, viz. 821 (753 + 68); cf. 4, 58, 74 (820 and 800). — **auctores**: in the silver Latin and modern sense = *scriptores*. — **res populi Romani**: republican period contrasted with imperial; cf. *Ann.* 1, 1 *veteris populi Romani prospera vel adversa*. — **eloquentia ac libertate**: emphasized by the word-order, as qualities which presently disappeared (*postquam*, etc.); join with *rettulerunt*. — **bellatum**: Intr. 24. — **apud Actium**: he does not mean that the *magna ingenia* came abruptly to an end in 31 B.C., which would exclude Livy. In *Ann.* 1, 1 also the decline of honest history begins with Augustus. — **potentiam**: not *potestatem*, which would be legitimate authority; cf. 2 fin., 13 init.; 2, 65, 92. — **pluribus**: without comparative force = *compluribus*, a rare word in Tac.; cf. 2, 4. — **inscitia**: lacks the sense of blame attached to this word in Cicero; cf. 2, 77 fin. with 88 fin. — **mox** = *postea*, as very freq. in Tac. — **libidine**: cf. 90 *ex libidine servitii;* 12 *libidine talia loquendi*. — **inter infensos**: the *inter*-phrase summarizes a situation with the greatest brevity; cf. 34 fin.; 50; 2, 92, 95; *Agr.* 32 *inter male parentes et iniuste imperantes*. — **ambitionem**: *partiality*, motived by the desire to advance one's self. — **averseris**: indef. 2d sing.; cf. *quae velis*, below; cf. 16 *si velis;* 83 *ni . . . adhibeas*. — **obtrectatio**, etc.: cf. 34 *facilius de odio creditur*. — **dignitatem**:

Intr. 2. — **abnuerim**: more polite than the blunt indic.; cf. *Dial.* 26 *equidem non negaverim;* ib. 32 *paene dixerim; Hist.* 1, 83 fin. *crediderim* (2, 50), 2, 37 *concesserim.* — **incorruptam** = *incorruptible,* as in Horace's *incorrupta Fides, C.* 1, 24, 7; cf. *Ann.* 1, 1 *sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo.* — **amore**: Intr. 13. — **dicendus**: the affirmative *quisque,* or *unus quisque,* is to be supplied from *neque . . . quisquam;* cf. 2, 52 fin.; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 1, 1–3. For *dicere* = *commemorare* cf. 2, 8; *Ann.* 1, 1. — **securiorem**: i.e. less thorny; the danger is not from the emperor, but from the friends of those whom he must mention; cf. Hor. *C.* 2, 1, 6–8. — **seposui**: Intr. 4 fin.

2. opus adgredior: chaps. 2 and 3 give an intensely vivid impressionistic picture of the period to be covered by the *Histories,* — its sombre side in 2, its brighter lights in 3. On the style of the passage, cf. Intr. 22. — **discors**: the time is personified, and its epithets then transferred to *opus.* — **pace**: under the tyranny of Domitian. — **quattuor**: Galba, slain in the Forum, Jan , 69 (cf. 41); Otho, by his own hand, Apr., 69 (2, 49); Vitellius, by the mob, Dec., 69; (3, 85) Domitian, assassinated Sept., 96. — **trina**: i.e. three times over, *three distinct;* not a mere substitution of distrib. for cardinal. — **civilia**: Otho against Vitellius, Vitellius against Vespasian (both 69), Domitian against his governor of Upper Germany, L. Antonius Saturninus (winter of 88–89). — **permixta**: civil war and foreign campaign at the same time, esp. the Jewish War (cf. *prosperae in Oriente res*), and that between Vespasian and Vitellius. The war with Civilis also (70) was at once foreign and domestic; cf. 2, 69 *interno simul externoque bello.* — **turbatum**: by the revolt of the legions to Vespasian. — **Illyricum**: the provinces of Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Moesia; cf. 9, 76; 2, 32. — **nutantes**: an incident of the Batavian revolt under Civilis was the establishment of an ephemeral *imperium Galliarum;* 4, 59. — **perdomita**: by Agricola, the father-in-law of Tac., in 78–84; but his northern conquests were promptly given up (*missa* = *omissa;* cf. Intr. 17) by Domitian; *Agr.* 18–38. — **Sarmatarum**, etc.: the *bellum Suebicum et Sarmaticum* of 92, from which Domitian returned, Jan., 93. A less important affair with a Sarmatian tribe, below, 79. — **falsi Neronis**: this pretender appeared twenty years after the death of Nero; Suet. *Nero* 57. For another

"Nero" cf. 2, 8 f. — **hausta**: he probably refers both to the earthquake of 63 and the eruption of Vesuvius in 79. — **incendiis**: besides the burning of the Capitol, 69, there was a great fire in 80, under Titus. — **consumptis**: cf. Intr. 7, 12. — **Capitolio . . . incenso**: during the riots of Vitellius' last days (3, 71); rebuilt by Vespasian (4, 53). — **caerimoniae**: i.e. Vestals proved false to their vows. — **magna** = *in high life.* — **exiliis**: for *exulibus;* Intr. 15; the gen. would be the regular const. with *plenus.* — **scopuli**: rocky islets off the west coast of Italy or in the Aegean, much used for political prisoners. — **omissi**: Intr. 11; the refusal of an office could be distorted into an evidence of disaffection. — **procurationes**: the procurators were fiscal agents of the emperor in the provinces, and governors of some of the smallest provinces, e.g. Judaea, the Maritime Alps, Noricum, Mauretania; cf. 7, 11 f., 58, 70; 2, 12, 58. — **agerent verterent**: Tacitus varies the common phrase *ferre agere* by changing the order and substituting *vertere* (= *evertere*) for *ferre,* thus completing the idea of ruin. — **odio** = *by arousing hatred.* — **per amicos**: cf. 2, 63 for an instance.

3. sterile: with gen. on the analogy of its opposite *fertilis.* — **coniuges**: e.g. Fannia, the friend of Pliny (*Ep.* 7, 19, 4), daughter of one famous irreconcilable (Thrasea Paetus) and wife of another (Helvidius Priscus). — **supremae . . . necessitates**: i.e. the situation of men who have been sentenced to death, or have received notice to commit suicide (as in 72). — **antiquorum**: e.g. Socrates, Demosthenes, Cato the Younger. — **caelo terraque**: like *terra marique;* Sall. *Jug.* 17, 5. — **laeta tristia**: a special use of these words in augury, etc.; cf. 27 init.; for the double asyndeton cf. 10 *luxuria,* etc.; 2, 80 *spes timor ratio casus.* — **iustis** = *complete, satisfactory.* — **securitatem** = *peace of mind.*

4–11. Introduction: general sketch of conditions in the city since the death of Nero, 4–7; in the provinces and armies, 8–11.

4. repetendum: *repetere* = *recall,* is very freq.; cf. 50; 2, 27; very rarely to *repeat* (of words). — **habitus** = *attitude, condition;* cf. 8 and 28 *habitus animorum.* — **fortuiti**, etc.: the element of chance, prominent in single occurrences (*casus eventusque*), becomes less conspicuous when attention is called to interrelations and causes (*ratio causaeque*). — **ut . . . ita** = *though . . . yet,* as very freq.; e.g. 6 fin., 7, 52; 2, 37, 50. — **laetus**: active sense, as

71 fin. — **gaudentium**: i.e. *of joy;* but Tac. prefers the more dramatic effect of the ptcp. used as a subst. Cf. Intr. 15. — **urbanum militem**: the whole garrison, not merely the praetorians. — **legiones**: still under the influence of *apud* (usually repeated); cf. 46 *bella civilia.* — **imperii** = *of the succession;* cf. 64 (*accession*); 14; 76 fin. — **posse**: with *arcano.* — **ut erga principem**: a freq. use of *ut* in a comparison suggested, but not fully expressed; one may supply *fieri solet,* but the ellipse was probably unconscious; cf. 34 med., 55 fin., 90 fin.; 2, 34, 73; *Agr.* 11 *ut inter barbaros;* cf. *tanquam,* 8 init. — **absentem**: some three months probably elapsed before Galba arrived from Spain. — **primores** = *illustres;* i.e. such knights as had the senatorial census, and were potentially senators. — **integra**: contrasted with *sordida,* below. — **circo . . . sueta**: cf. 2, 32 *Italiae sueta.* — **per**: circumstance, not means — *to the shame of Nero.*

5. longo = *diuturno* = *immemorial;* cf. 21 *longo exilio;* 89 *longo bello;* 2, 76 *longo imperio.* — **arte**: the pretence that Nero was deserting them, and the false promise of money (*sub nomine Galbae*). — **eundem**: sc. *esse.* — **praeventam**: i.e. *praeoccupatam;* cf. 53 *praeventus.* — **legionibus**: Galba was the first emperor created by the legions, viz. VI *Victrix,* X *Gemina,* and the new VII *Galbiana,* — all Spanish. — **Nymphidius**: a creature of Nero, claiming to be a son of Caligula; as prefect since 65 he forced his colleague Tigellinus to retire; cf. 72. — **oppressus**: on coming to the camp to be hailed *imperator* he was slain by the praetorians. — **quamvis**: with *ablato,* silver Latin with ptcp.; cf. 18. — **plerisque** = *many;* not in the Ciceronian sense of *most;* cf. 13 fin., 27 fin. For the superl. Tac. uses *plurimi.* — **senium**: he was 73 according to 49 below, and Plut. *Galba* 8 (72, Suet. 23). — **severitas** = *strictness.* — **verebantur** = *reverebantur;* Intr. 17. — **anceps**: *critical.* — **legi**: cf. Suet. 16 *legere se militem, non emere consuesse.* — **formam**: we should say *up to this standard, after this stamp.* Cf. 18 fin.

6. Vinius: for his life and character, cf. 48. — **Laco**: made *praefectus praetorio* by Galba; cf. 13 f., 19, 39, 46 fin. — **flagitiorum**: takes up *deterrimus,* as *inertiae* repeats the thought of *ignavissimus.* Vinius' vices were a heavy load for Galba to carry; with Laco's *inertia* added (cf. 24 fin.), they completed his ruin. — **iter**:

he probably left Spain about the beginning of July, spending some two months on the way. — **Cingonius**: he was said to have written a speech for Nymphidius to deliver to the praetorians (Plut. *Galba* 14). — **P. Petronius Turpilianus**: cos. 61; gov. of Britain 61–64; commanded Nero's army against Galba; brother-in-law of Vitellius. — **inauditi atque indefensi**: cf. 2, 10 *indefensum et inauditum; Dial.* 16. — **introitus**: near the Milvian Bridge (cf. 87) Galba was met by a body of marines clamoring that he enroll them also among the legions, as Nero had formed the Ist *Classica* (v. below). Galba, offended at the breach of discipline, ordered them to be cut down; decimation and imprisonment followed; cf. 37, 87; 2, 11 fin. — **Hispana**: i.e. VII *Galbiana* (later *Gemina*), recruited in Spain by Galba; soon sent to Pannonia; cf. 2, 86; 3, 7, 10. — **e classe**: v. on *introitus* above; under Galba it became I *Adiutrix;* cf. 31 *legio classica;* on 82 *praefecto legionis;* 2, 11, 43, 67. — **numeri** = *detachments;* cf. 87 *in numeros legionis; Agr.* 18; comprehensive term for any of the subdivisions of the legion, cohort, or *ala*, including also *vexilla* (cf. on 31 s. v.). — **Caspiarum**: sc. *portarum.* The Albani occupied the eastern end of the Caucasus, down to the Caspian. The pass (more correctly called *portae Caucasiae,* according to Pliny) led northward to the Sarmatian Alani, here confused with the Albani. — **opprimendis**: this purpose constr., very limited in class. Latin, becomes common in Tacitus' latest work; cf. 41. — **C. Iulius Vindex**: a Gaul, of a royal Aquitanian family. His father became a Roman senator, and he was himself governor of Gallia Lugudunensis (or perhaps Belgica). In March, 68, he headed a rebellion against Nero, calling upon Galba to assume the leadership. Verginius Rufus, governor of Upper Germany, led the Rhine legions against the Gallic insurgents, and while the generals were negotiating at Vesontio (Besançon) the legionaries routed the militia of Vindex, who thereupon took his own life (May, 68). — **ut . . . ita**: cf. on 4 *ut . . . ita.* — **unum aliquem**: cf. 82 *neminem unum.* — **prono favore**: abl. qual. balanced by *parata;* Intr. 13.

7. congruerat: a single *ut*-clause is made to include both terms of the coincidence. — **L. Clodius Macer**: *legatus* of the IIId legion *Augusta* in Numidia. Apparently the proconsul of Africa was forced to flee, and Macer, usurping his powers, at first claimed

to act in the name of the senate, and minted coins under the republican title of *propraetor Africae*, cf. 73. — **Fonteius Capito**: cos. ord. 67, then governor of Lower Germany; cf. 8, 52, 58; 3, 62. — **procurator**: cf. on 2 *procurationes;* the procurator was the natural enemy of the governor; cf. 12. — **Valens**: becomes very prominent in the story of Vitellius' rise to power; cf. on 52. — **legati**: in the time of Julius Caesar the change took place from the six tribunes to the single *legatus* in command. — **ut . . . maculosum**: sc. *fuisse;* although the clause is logically subordinate (cf. 4 *ut . . . ita*), symmetry prevails, — a usage of Livy and Tacitus; cf. 17. — **foedum ac maculosum**: cf. the same, 2, 30; 1, 72 *foeda puritia.* — **nequiverint**: for the pluperf.; cf. 34 *vulgaverint;* 2, 41 *coeptaverint.* — **dolum** = *insidias;* cf. 58. — **ultro**: accompanies an act of aggression, or one which is unexpected, showing firmness, enterprise, or insolence; cf. 32, 62, 71, 74, 82 fin.; 2, 35, 42, 60, 65, 70 fin.; sometimes where one falls into his own trap, e.g. 2, 25 — **an** = *sive;* a rare use in Cicero and Livy, but frequent in Tacitus; cf. 28. — **servorum**: contemptuous for *libertorum;* cf. 2, 92 fin. *servilia ingenia.* — **subitis**: circumstantial abl., neuter, in place of *rebus subitis;* cf. 10, 69; 3, 64. — **aetas**: cf. on 5 *senium.* — **forma**: so Pliny the Younger speaks of the populace as praising Nero because he was *formosus* (*Pan.* 2).

8. **Et . . . quidem**: frequent in résumés; cf. 5, 16 fin., 63. — **tanquam . . . multitudine**: since the sentence is an epitome of 4–7, the point turns on the great diversity of sentiment, — a matter of course in a city of such size. Cf. on 4 *ut erga principem.* Plut. *Galba* 26, has the equivalent, οἷα δὲ ἐν πλήθει τοσούτῳ. — **Hispaniae**: sc. *Tarraconensi;* until recently the province of Galba. It had two legions, VI *Victrix* and X *Gemina;* cf. 2, 58. — **Cluvius Rufus**: the lost historian, probably one of Tacitus' chief sources for this period. He was cos. under Caligula; in 67 he acted as herald for Nero on his concert-tour of Greece. Under Vitellius he governed his Spanish province still, but *in absentia.* Cf. 2, 58, 65; 1, 76. — **pacis artibus**: abl. qual. with a gen. in place of adj. He was orator as well as historian (4, 43). — **bellis**: for the abl., cf. 2, 75 *bello inexpertas.* — **inexpertus**: passively, *untried;* cf. 2, 4 fin. — **super** = *praeter*, as often in Livy; cf. 51 *super avaritiam et adrogantiam;* 2, 8 *super similitudinem oris;* 44

super cladem; 94 *super . . . ignaviam; Agr.* 17 *super virtutem hostium.* — **Vindicis:** cf. on 6 fin. for his relations with Galba, who profited by the support of those who had been attached to Vindex. — **recenti:** Galba conferred full citizenship upon all members of those Gallic communities which had supported Vindex and himself. A limited number of *primores* had been so honored 20 years before by Claudius, but for which act Vindex would not have been a Roman senator. — **in posterum:** cf. 44 fin., 87. — **levamento:** the amount is given in 51. — **civitates:** cf. 53 fin.; they had taken sides with Verginius against Vindex. Trèves (Trier) and Lyons were among the sufferers. — **finibus:** cf. 53 *damno finium.* — **quod:** sc. *est;* the danger arose from the fact that they were both *solliciti* (*metu*) and *irati* (*superbia*). They had not been sufficiently rewarded for their service against Vindex. — **tanquam . . . fovissent** = *on the ground that,* — a real reason from their point of view; often *in the belief that;* a frequent use in Tacitus; cf. 18 fin., 20 fin., 48, 52, 58, 80; 2, 47, 63, 65, 93; *velut* 2, 8; so even *quasi* in the *Annals.* — **L. Verginius Rufus:** cos. 63, 69, and 97; governor of Upper Germany in 68, when the uprising under Vindex took place (cf. on 6 fin.). Although a *novus homo* (cf. 52 fin.), he enjoyed later the credit of having three times refused the empire, when the soldiers wished to raise him to the throne: (1) after the death of Vindex; (2) on the news of Nero's death; (3) after the suicide of Otho, Apr. 69. His epitaph in Pliny, *Ep.* 6, 10; (cf. 9 fin.; 2, 51, 68; Plut. *Galba* 6, 10; *Otho* 18). Tacitus himself, as cos., delivered his funeral oration (Plin. *Ep.* 2, 1, 6). — **an:** Tacitus regarded it as a matter of real uncertainty; *an* does not intimate his own belief; cf. 2, 45 *ignaris . . . an impetrassent.* — **Fonteium:** cf. 7 init. — **reum:** probably not an actual fact, but suspected by the soldiers. — **suum** = *against themselves.*

9. exercitus: at Moguntiacum (Mainz), the capital of the province, the IVth legion *Macedonica* and the XXIId *Primigenia* had their headquarters; at Vindonissa (Windisch, near the Swiss Baden) was the station of the XXIst *Rapax;* cf. 55. Until 58 there had been four legions. — **legatum** = *commander-in-chief, governor* (i.e. *legatus consularis*). — **Hordeonius Flaccus:** successor of Verginius, an insignificant figure, inexperienced in affairs;

cf. 52, 56; 2, 57, 97; etc.; killed by his soldiers, 4, 36. — **debilitate pedum**: avoiding the medical word, *podagra;* cf. Intr. 20. — **ne . . . quidem . . . adeo**: an occasional correlation in silver Latin, where two terms are strongly contrasted, — here *quieto* and *furentes; adeo* (*all the more*) thus marks that which goes without saying; cf. 3, 64; 4, 39 (3, 39; 4, 80). — **retinentis**: of attempted action; cf. 17 fin.; 45 med.; 2, 18; sc. *se.* — **legiones**: I *Germanica* at Bonna (Bonn); XVI *Gallica* at Novaesium (Neuss, about 20 miles below Cologne, i.e. Colonia Agrippinensis, the chief town; cf. on 56); V *Alaudae* and XV *Primigenia* at Vetera (Xanten, about 35 m. p. below Neuss), the military headquarters. — **consulari**: sc. *legato;* cf. above *legatum;* for Capito's death cf. 7 init. — **A. Vitellius**: the future emperor (Apr. 69–Dec.); a favorite of Tiberius at Capri, of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero; cos. 48; procos. of Africa, 60–61(?); for his assumption of the purple, cf. 52 ff.; his character, 3, 86; his mother, 2, 64. — **aderat**: only here does Tacitus use *donec* with imperf. indic.; had he chosen to use *advenire,* he would have said *advēnit.* — **L. Vitellius**: cos. 34, 43 (with Claudius as colleague), 47 (do.); censor 47 (do.) and 48; governor of Syria 35 ff.; acted as Claudius' representative at Rome, 43, when that emperor invaded Britain; cf. 52 fin. — **id**: i.e. the appointment of any man of distinguished family, regardless of special claims. — **Britannico**: the legions were: II *Augusta,* IX *Hispana,* XX *Valeria Victrix,* — the last at Deva (Chester). — **divisae**: sc. *erant;* a frequent ellipsis in the causal clause; cf. 2, 12. — **Illyrico**: large, but scattered, forces were stationed in the provinces east of the Adriatic: XIII *Gemina* and, presently, VII *Galbiana* in Pannonia; XI *Claudia* and, temporarily, XIV *Gemina* (from Britain) in Dalmatia; VII *Claudia,* VIII *Augusta* and, for the time, III *Gallica* (from Syria) in Moesia. — **excitae**: to oppose Vindex, and perhaps Galba. — **cunctantur**: apparently some of these legions, or detachments from them, reached Italy, but were not mobilized, and soon returned separately at Galba's command; cf. 70 *acciti . . . ac tum in Italia manentes.* — **Verginium**: the time is probably after the death of Nero, and before V.'s second refusal became known; cf. on 8. — **quod**: appositive to *nec vitiis . . . miscebantur.* — **miscebantur**: cf. *Agr.* 25 *mixti copiis et laetitia,* with the same idea of sharing, combining.

10. inmotus: cf. Intr. 16. — **legiones:** IV *Scythica,* VI *Ferrata,* XII *Fulminata;* the IIId *Gallica* also belonged to Mucianus' command, but was now in Moesia, having been ordered to the west by Nero shortly before his death. — **C. Licinius Mucianus:** cos. once under Nero, twice early in the reign of Vespasian, whose minister he became in 69; governor (*legatus consularis*) of Syria from 67, and one of the leading figures in book 2; cf. 2, 4 f., 7, 74 ff. — **secundis:** cf. on 7 *subitis.* — **secretum Asiae** = *the seclusion of Asia* (Minor); one of Tacitus' extensions of the partitive gen. — **sepositus:** applied to a man who was not formally banished, but effectually removed, often under the guise of an official appointment; cf. 13, the case of Otho; cf. 46 fin., 88 init. He was probably offered an inferior position in Asia; and later Nero made him *legatus* of Lycia; cf. *Ann.* 4, 44 fin. — **a principe:** he was to Vespasian what Maecenas and Agrippa had been to Augustus. — **luxuria:** cf. on 3 *laeta tristia;* the good and bad qualities are arranged in a chiastic order; the same figure also in the second member of the sentence. — **mixtus:** would naturally agree with *artibus* (*qualities;* cf. 45); but cf. *Agr.* 4 *Massiliam . . . locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtum.* — **vacaret:** subjv. of repeated action. Latin of the golden age regularly preferred the indic. in such clauses, but the subjv. imperf. or pluperf. is found in Caesar (e.g. *B. C.* 2, 15, 2), and common in Livy and Tac.; cf. 49 *incidisset;* 62 *incederet;* 66 fin. *deesset,* etc. — **expedierat:** absolute; cf. 88 *secum expedire iubet;* 2, 99 *expedire ad bellum.* — **palam:** condensed for *quae palam agebat.* — **laudares:** potential of past time, indef. 2d person; cf. 45 *crederes;* 57 *scires;* 2, 62 *non timeres.* — **collegas:** i.e. governors of neighboring provinces, e.g. Vespasian. — **expeditius** = *facilius.* — **obtinere:** not *obtain,* but *keep, maintain;* the thought is that Mucianus did gain the *imperium* potentially, but only to transfer it to another (*tradere*). — **T. Flavius Vespasianus:** the future emperor, son of a Sabine tax farmer and money lender; first distinguished himself as *legatus* of the IId legion in the conquest of Britain under Claudius, 43; cos. 51; procos. of Africa (cf. 2, 97); *legatus* of Judaea, 67 ff.; cf. 2, 4 ff., 74 ff. — **legionibus:** i.e. V *Macedonica,* X *Fretensis,* XV *Apollinaris* (5, 1). The Jewish War required this great force, and the province, formerly ruled by a procu-

rator, now had a *legatus consularis.* — **Titus:** he had served with his father as tribune in Germany and Britain; had brought the Vth and Xth legions from Alexandria (Alexandretta?); was now *legatus legionis;* succeeded his father as emperor in 79. — **suo loco:** 2, 1. — **occulta fati:** *crediditmus* here has two objects: (1) *occulta fati,* and (2) an *oratio obliqua;* cf. 19, 22 fin.; for the gen. cf. 26 *incerta noctis;* 85 *secreta domuum.* Tac. has a great variety of similar phrases influenced by the Greek. — **ostentis:** cf. 2, 78. — **fortunam:** for its special application to the throne, cf. 15 med. *dignus hac fortuna.*

11. copias: the legions were III *Cyrenaica* and XXII *Deiotariana;* cf. 5, 1. — **a divo Augusto:** on account of the ease with which Egypt could be held by a usurper, and its vast grain supply withheld from the Roman market, Augustus placed the country on a different basis from all other provinces. Neither senators nor *equites illustres* (cf. on 4 sub fin.) could enter Egypt without permission, and the governor was a praefect, of equestrian rank, standing next in rank to the *praefectus praetorio;* cf. 3, 8. — **regum:** the line of the Ptolemies, ending with Cleopatra. — **domi:** i.e. Egypt was treated as a private estate of the emperors, to be managed as they managed their other lands. — **Tib. Iulius Alexander:** a Jew who had discarded his nationality; procurator of Judaea under Claudius; with Corbulo in the war against Armenia, 63 (*Ann.* 15, 28); made prefect of Egypt by Nero; played an important part in the elevation of Vespasian (cf. 2, 74, 79) and was rewarded by the post of *praef. praetorio* to Titus before Jerusalem. — **legio:** the IIId *Augusta.* Another legion was formed by Macer, and named I *Liberatrix Macriana,* as his coins show, but it was soon disbanded by Galba; cf. 2, 97; on 7 init. — **domini minoris** = *a petty tyrant.* — **Mauretaniae:** i.e. the greater part of Algiers and Morocco; they had been organized as provinces, each under a procurator, by Claudius in 42; cf. Plin. *N. H.* 5, 11; Dio 60, 9. At present both were under the same governor; cf. 2, 58 f. — **Raetia:** included the eastern half of Switzerland, Tyrol, and the southern part of Bavaria, to the Danube on the north, and the Inn on the east. — **Noricum:** between Raetia and Pannonia, from the Alps north of Venice to the Danube. — **Thracia:** including also modern East Rumelia and southern Bulgaria. —

aliae: sc. *provinciae.* — **procuratoribus:** dative of agent; very frequent in Tacitus; cf. 14 *cui . . . exercita;* 27 *emi sibi;* in Cicero the dative is frequent with ptcpp. and cpd. tenses, and is also used with *quaero* and *sumo*, etc., but the idea of interest predominates. — **ut cuique exercitui:** the military provinces nearest to Mauretania, etc., were Africa, Upper Germany, Pannonia, Moesia, respectively. — **inermes:** the senatorial provinces, except Africa; cf. on 7 init. — **cuicumque** = *qualicumque;* cf. 15 fin. — **exposita:** silver Latin for *obiecta;* cf. on 2, 30 *expositos.* — **cessurae:** cf. 70 fin. *in cetera victoriae praemia cessuros.* — **hic fuit:** the sentence recalls the opening words of chap. 1, and thus effectively marks the close of the introduction.

12–20. The rebellion of the legions of Upper Germany leads Galba to name a successor by adopting Piso, 12–19; financial matters, 20.

12. Propinquus: put to death by Vitellius; cf. 58. — **procuratoris:** to be distinguished from the type of procurator meant in 11; in such a province as Gallia Belgica the procurator simply represented the imperial treasury; cf. 7. The two Germanies were then administered less as distinct provinces than as military districts of Belgic Gaul; hence an officer of the latter would report disturbances in the former. Tacitus' own father had possibly been procurator of Belgica (Intr. 1). — **legiones:** cf. on 9; 16, 18. — **rupta:** from its use with *foedus, ius*, etc., the word is extended to such objects as *fides, religio, reverentia.* — **arbitrium eligendi:** the phrase has a Ciceronian ring, while its equivalent, the one word *electio*, would be more Tacitean; cf. 19 *electionem . . . permiserat.* — **de adoptione:** for Galba's precedents in the matter, cf. 15. The same method of choice gave the empire to Trajan, under whom Tacitus was writing. — **menses:** probably ever since his arrival in Rome, September (?), 68; cf. *iam pridem* above. — **licentia ac libidine:** may be hendiadys (*unbridled passion*), or a pair of synonyms; the latter is more characteristic of the early writings, the former of the *Histories* and *Annals;* cf. 1 *libidine adsentandi;* 32 *adulandi licentia.* — **hunc vel illum:** among others named was Titus (2, 1). — **ambitiosis:** i.e. self-interest was the motive in their choice; cf. on 83 *ambitioso;* on 2, 49 *ambitiosis.*

— **in . . . odium**: the simpler phrase *Titi Vini odio* (abl. cause) has been set aside for an expression more novel and striking; cf. 77 *in solacium*, etc. Purpose, direction, tendency, result, destiny, may all be indicated by *in* and acc.; here = *ad* and gerundive (*explendum*). — **eodem actu**: a mere substitute for *tanto* [*actus* in the sense of *impulse, impetus, motion* is rarely figurative]. — **facilitas**: cf. 6 init., 49. — **intendebat** = *augebat*, as often in Tac.; cf. 24.

13. potentia: cf. on 1 *potentiam*. — **divisa in**: no writer before Tacitus appears to use this construction with persons in the acc., except where an apportionment is meant; cf. 3, 58 *in consules partitur* (*Vitellius*). — **Vinium . . . Laconem**: cf. 6 init.; asyndeton between names, classical for colleagues in office only, is frequent in Tacitus; cf. 2, 16, 81, 92. — **anulis**: the plur. was frequently used for the single gold ring worn as a class distinction by the knights; cf. 2, 57 fin.; 4, 3; cf. the legal *ius anulorum*. — **rebus minoribus**: cf. 7 *subitis*. — **circa** = *in regard to;* common in this sense in silver Latin from Seneca on; cf. *Germ.* 28 *circa adfectationem Germanicae originis*. — **M. Salvius Otho**: who was to succeed Galba, — but not by adoption (cf. 21 ff.), — was born in 32. His grandfather, a knight, became senator by the favor of the empress Livia; the father attained the consulship (33), was proconsul of Africa, and was raised to patrician rank by Claudius. For Otho's character, see below, and 2, 50. — **unum aliquem**: as in 6 fin. — **fovebant**: cf. 14 *fovebat*. — **transmittentium**: substantive use of the ptcp.; cf. 4 *gaudentium*, 33 *terentium*. — **vidua**: the corresponding feminine to *caelebs*. — **curam**: cf. 50 *cura rei publicae*. — **subisse**: absolute; cf. 2, 70 *quos varia sors rerum . . . et misericordia subiret;* 3, 31 fin. *subit recordatio*. The reference is to Galba. — **incuriose**: cf. 4, 28 *incuriosius agentes;* not before Livy. — **luxus**: as usual, in the worse sense; cf. *Ann.* 13, 45 *iuventa et luxu* (of Otho). — **Poppaea**: Nero's second wife, whom he married after divorcing Octavia, 62. She was the granddaughter of C. Poppaeus Sabinus, cos. 9 A.D., a distinguished provincial governor. Her father, T. Ollius, had been cut short in his career by Sejanus, 31, while her mother, Poppaea Sabina, was forced to commit suicide in 47. She died in 65, by an angry kick from Nero; cf. *Ann.* 11, 2; 13, 45; 16, 6. — **principale scortum** = *imperial mistress*. — **deposuerat**:

sc. *Nero;* Suetonius also uses the legal figure of a *depositum* (*Otho* 3). The narrative in *Ann.* 13, 45 f. represents her as lawfully married to Otho. — **Claudia Octavia:** she was the daughter (b. 42 or 43) of Claudius and Messalina, and sister of Britannicus. At the age of eleven or twelve she married Nero, who was sixteen (53); but he divorced her in 62, banished her to the island of Pandateria, and soon ordered her death. Her youthful innocence, her unhappy life and tragic death made her the subject of a tragedy, *Octavia*, which has come down to us with the dramas of Seneca; cf. *Ann.* 12, 3, 58; 13, 12; 14, 60, 63 f. — **Lusitania:** roughly speaking, the modern Portugal, with the addition of Estremadura and Salamanca. It was usually governed by an ex-praetor; but Otho had not risen higher than the quaestorship. — **specie legationis:** since the *legatus* was in reality a virtual exile there for ten years (59–68); cf. 21 *alterius exilii honorem.* — **comiter:** cf. *Agr.* 16 *comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit;* Suet. *Otho* 3 fin. says, *moderatione atque abstinentia singulari;* *Ann.* 13, 46 fin. *integre sancteque egit* [*Otho*]. — **in partes:** as of Agricola, *statim in partes* [*Vespasiani*] *transgressus est* (*Agr.* 7). — **donec** = *so long as* = *dum* or *quoad*, — in prose a silver Latin use of the word; cf. 37 (w. future); 4, 74 *vitia erunt, donec homines* [*erunt*]; for Augustan poetry, cf. Hor. *C.* 1, 9, 17; 3, 9, 1. — **rapiebat:** as in the phrase *rapere occasionem* (Hor. *Epod.* 13, 3), or *rapere viam.* — **faventibus . . . prona:** cf. Intr. 7.

14. sed: reverts to 12 init. after a digression on the circumstances leading up to the adoption. — **quonam** = *in what direction,* or perhaps better, *to what lengths, how far.* — **quod . . . rebatur:** appositive relative clause with the following. — **remedium:** cf. 20 fin., 29, 83; *Germ.* 16 *adversus casus ignis remedium;* the figure loses itself in the general meaning *measure* or *resource.* — **comitia:** this word was used of the election of a consul, even after the right of election (on the emperor's nomination) had passed to the senate in 14 A.D. — **imperii:** i.e. *of a successor;* cf. 4 *imperii arcano.* — **Marius Celsus:** six years before this he had commanded a legion (XVth) from Pannonia on the eastern expedition of Corbulo; chiefly noted for his loyal devotion, first to Galba, and then to Otho, whom he served as general in the campaign against Vitellius; cf. esp. 45, 71; 2, 23 ff., 33, 39 f., 60; his consulship was

ultimately the gift of Vitellius (77), — a part of the year 69. — **Ducenius Geminus**: a consular as early as in 62, but of no historical importance. — **praefecto urbis**: the office, temporarily revived by Augustus, was made permanent by Tiberius; cf. *Ann.* 6, 11; *Hist.* 1, 46; 2, 63. — **L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus**: a Piso by adoption, and the son of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, cos. 27 A.D. (himself a Piso by birth); his brothers, Cn. Pompeius Magnus and M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, were victims of Claudius and Nero respectively; cf. 48; Piso had been long in exile (21, 48). — **cui**: for the dat., cf. on 11 *procuratoribus*. — **apud**: i.e. they usually met at Rubellius' house. — **Rubellius Plautus**: his father, C. Rubellius Blandus, had married the princess Julia, daughter of Drusus, son of Tiberius. As a possible rival, Nero had forced Plautus to retire to Asia, 60 A.D., where he was put to death in 62; *Ann.* 6, 27; 14, 22 and 57–59. — **Scribonia**: she was evidently the daughter of Pompeia, and granddaughter of Sextus Pompey and his wife, Scribonia (niece of Augustus' wife of the same name). Both of Piso's parents were victims of Claudius. — **vultu habituque**: cf. 17; 2, 52; *habitus* is not limited to physique, but refers also to bearing, mien; or includes both. — **moris antiqui**: cf. 2, 64 *antiqui moris*. — **severus . . . tristior**: corresponding, as usual, to the Roman virtue of strictness, and its excess, severity, respectively; cf. *Agr.* 9; below, 48 *severe;* 2, 11 *severis ducibus*. — **interpretantibus**: the ptcp. is used for variety after the prepositional phrase; Intr. 13. — **quo suspectior**: the correlative term would naturally be *eo magis placebat;* but Tacitus (in *Hist.* and *Ann.* only) uses great freedom in relaxing the formalism of these symmetrical clauses, omitting *eo*, *tanto*, etc., and returning to the positive degree; cf. 12 fin.; 2, 11 *quo plus virium . . . tarditas;* 99 *quantumque hebes . . . tanto . . . promptior*. The regular correlation is found, but more rarely (e.g. 1, 45; 2, 47), except in the minor works.

15. igitur: this position is regular with Sall., frequent in Livy and Tac. — **privatus**: in emphatic contrast with *ad imperium vocatum* below. — **lege curiata**: adoption of an adult (*adrogatio*) required this ancient form of the so-called *comitia curiata*, already in Cicero's time a fictitious assembly, consisting of one lictor for each of the thirty *curiae;* but the real functionaries were the

pontifices. It was by this method that Augustus adopted Agrippa Postumus and Tiberius. Galba omitted the shadowy *lex curiata*, and, as pontifex maximus, formally pronounced the adoption accomplished (cf. 17 f.). — **moris est**: a favorite phrase with Tacitus; the gen. is possessive; cf. *Germ.* 13, 21; *Agr.* 33, 39, 42. — **egregium erat**: classical use of the indic. in such a phrase, even in the unreal condition; cf. 16 init. *dignus eram*. — **in penates**: adoption involved formal abandonment of the cult of the one family (*sacrorum detestatio*), in favor of the household gods of the other; but Galba uses *penates* rather in the sense of *home*. — **Sulpiciae**: sc. *gentis*, a rare ellipsis; it is also possible to supply *nobilitatis*. He was descended from the orator Ser. Sulpicius Galba, cos. 144. — **Lutatiae**: Galba's mother, Mummia Achaica, was the granddaughter of the celebrated Q. Lutatius Catulus, who completed the Capitoline temple, 69 B.C. (cf. 3, 72 fin.). — **adiecisse**: not different in time from *adsciscere*, above. — **nunc** = *as it is*, the return to reality; cf. 16 init.; 37 fin.; frequent in Livy. — **maiores**: Galba's family was Caesarian; Piso's connections were with the party of his great-great-great-grandfather, Pompey. — **sororis**: Octavia. — **Marcellus**: husband of Augustus' daughter Julia, but died 23 B.C., aged 20. — **Agrippa**: the trusty general and minister of Augustus, second husband of Julia. He was not adopted. — **nepotes**: Gaius and Lucius Caesar, sons of Agrippa and Julia, adopted by Augustus, 17 B.C. Both died early, however, Gaius in 2 A.D. at Massilia, Lucius in 4 A.D. in Asia. — **Tiberius**: son of Livia, the second wife of Augustus; adopted 4 A.D., and made colleague (consort) in 13. — **non quia**: the reason stated for the purpose of denying it requires the subjv., usually with *non quo* or *non quod*. — **sit**: the emphatic predicate *documentum* prevails over the plural subject. — **et** = *etiam*. — **frater**: Crassus Scribonianus; cf. 47 fin., 48. — **fortuna**: cf. below, *cum fortuna nostra;* 1, 10 fin.; 2, 1 med. — **excusandum habeas**: in golden Latin *habeas quod excuses;* cf. 4, 77; ger. or gerundive with *habeo* is esp. freq. in *Dial.*, e.g. 37 *dicendum habeas*. — **adversam**: his father and mother had also been put to death by Claudius. — **obsequium** = *servility*. — **blanditia**: the rare singular abstract, while the plural is concrete. — **et**: inserted because the third term in the series is modified by the appositive *pessimum*

. . . *venenum;* cf. 51 fin. — **utilitas** = *self-interest.* — **quemcumque:** cf. on 11 fin. *cuicumque.*

16. dignus eram: cf. on 15 *egregium erat.* — **res publica:** in contrast with the empire; cf. 50. — **nunc:** cf. on 15 *nunc.* — **eo necessitatis:** cf. 60 *eoque discordiae.* — **familiae:** the Julian-Claudian family, which treated the state as a kind of private *hereditas.* — **fuimus:** Galba speaks as a citizen, but in *eligi coepimus* as emperor (not *coepti sumus,* the classical usage; cf. 3, 34 *occidi coepere;* 4, 46 *distrahi coepere*). — **ultra:** i.e. beyond the fact of birth. — **Vindex:** cf. on 6. — **legione:** i.e. the VIth *Victrix;* cf. on 8 *Hispaniae.* — **bello . . . adsciti:** in contrast with hereditary claims, as expressed in *longa Caesarum serie.* — **cum invidia:** i.e. there will be no escape from *invidia.* — **quamvis** = *no matter how;* cf. 26 fin., 38. — **fueris:** for *sis.* — **si:** in place of the regular *quod,* in order to weaken the disagreeable statement. — **legiones:** at Mainz; cf. 18 and on 9 init. — **ne ipse quidem** = *I also . . . did not;* cf. 29 fin. — **temporis huius:** possess. gen., but hardly distinguishable from gen. qual., i.e. *opportune.* — **bene:** modifying *te elegi* as a phrase; the point is the excellence of the choice. — **dilectus** = *modus deligendi,* i.e. *criterion.* — **regnantur:** cf. Intr. 16. — **et . . . quidem:** cf. on 8 init. — **faceret:** incomplete action, in the intent of Galba, whereas the others thought the adoption a *fait accompli.*

17. intuentibus: dative, as also *coniectis . . . oculis,* though on the principle of variety the latter might be abl. abs. — **omnium:** probably not the great crowd, but those within the palace who first heard of the adoption. — **se:** for *ipso;* as though Piso were subject. — **vultu:** cf. on 14 *vultu habituque.* — **pro rostris** = *from the rostra;* cf. 29 *pro gradibus.* — **castris:** the praetorian camp established by Tiberius northeast of the city; the site is now occupied by the garrison of the modern Rome. — **quorum** = *et* (or *nam*) *eorum;* hence the following infinitives. — **ut:** cf. on 7 *ut . . . maculosum.* — **male adquiri:** for the emphasis on the adv. cf. 16 *bene.* — **artes** = *means, methods.* — **expectatio:** abstract for concrete with a striking personification; Intr. 15. — **male** = *non satis, parum;* the usual weakening effect of *male* upon an adj. or ptcp. of positive meaning; cf. 52 *male fidas provincias;* 2, 92 *male dissimulata pravitas.* — **supprimentes:** conative; cf. 9 *retinentis.*

18. foedum: as in *Agr.* 12 *caelum . . imbribus . . foedum.* — **et caelestes minae:** not in addition to *tonitrua* and *fulgura; et* is epexegetic; English commonly expresses the same relation by simple apposition; cf. on 19 *ac.* — **observatum:** a concessive (or adversative) clause is here reduced to a ptcp. with its modifiers. — **quo minus:** for *quin*, as often in Tac.; cf. 40 fin.; 2, 40, 45. — **seu . . . non vitantur:** the briefer form of explanation by mere apposition (*contemptorem*) is abruptly abandoned in favor of an entire clause; cf. on 76 *sed erat.* — **imperatoria** = *soldierly*, not *imperial.* — **exemplo:** cf. 15 *exemplo divi Augusti.* — **more militari:** this cannot refer merely to an old custom of levying troops by coöptation, but more explicitly to the choice of an *optio*, e.g. by a centurion, to assist him and to take his place in case of disability; cf. 25 init. — **dissimulata:** conditional. — **in maius:** this phrase for exaggeration was used by Sallust, repeatedly by Tacitus; cf. 52; the underlying idea is result. — **ultro** = *actually*, i.e. he went so far as to say; cf. on 7 *ultro.* — **legiones:** Tac. prefers this usage instead of the more usual *legio quarta et duoetvicensima;* both are classical, however; cf. 55; 2, 91, 100. — **in officio:** cf. *Ann.* 1, 48 *maiorem . . . partem in officio vident;* 3, 42 *plures in officio mansere.* — **tanquam:** i.e. *realizing that*, etc.; cf. on 8 *tanquam . . . fovissent.* — **usurpatam:** since the accession of Claudius. — **liberalitate:** abstr. for concrete *largitione;* cf. 20 *liberalitatis;* Intr. 15.

19. inde: ellipsis is very frequent in Tacitus with such adverbs; cf. Intr. 24. — **patrum favor aderat:** cf. 17 fin. *circumsteterat . . . publica expectatio.* Tac. considers this an equivalent for *patres aderant fautores*, and proceeds with an appositive *multi*, as if he had actually written *aderant.* For the interchange of abstract with concrete cf. Intr. 15; cf. on 29 *adfertur rumor*, etc. — **medii** = *neutral, indifferent;* cf. 4, 8 fin. *mediis patrum.* — **ac** = *namely, that is to say*, epexegetic; cf. 25 *vulgus et ceteros;* 89 init. — **obvio:** of that which goes to meet, *ready, responsive* (not *trite, banal*). — **privatas**, etc.: cf. 90 fin. *privata cuique stimulatio*, etc. — **quadriduo:** Jan. 11–14 inc., neglecting both the day of the *adoptio* and that of the *caedes.* — **et Piso:** the proposal was to add Piso to the embassy already voted before his adoption (*censuerant*). — **praetextu** = *distinction, solemnity;* cf. 76 *praetexto senatus.* — **illi:**

in condensing the reason assigned into participial phrases, Tac. assumes that his readers have mentally expanded *et Piso* into *non senatores solum sed etiam Piso*, and boldly proceeds with his antithesis (*illi . . . hic*) in apposition. — **dignationem** = *dignitatem.* — **Caesaris** = *heir-apparent, crown prince*, the usual title. — **placebat**: the tense itself shows that the proposal came to nothing. — **inconstantia**: i.e. on Galba's part, while *ambitu* describes their "wire-pulling." Those actually sent were recalled by Otho; cf. 74. — **aut . . . vel**: on the free use of conjj. cf. 2, 1 *aut . . . vel.*

20. proxima: the financial question had been in Galba's mind for months, as a problem second only in importance to that of the succession. As Tac. excluded the year 68 from his *Histories*, the subject is mentioned here only to deepen the impression of Galba's growing unpopularity. — **bis**, etc.: i.e. 2200 million sesterces = *circa* 115 million dollars. — **appellari**: they were to appear before the commission mentioned below. — **relicta**: this aoristic use of the ptcp., contemporaneous with the main verb, not antecedent to it, is esp. freq. both in Livy and Tac., when the abl. abs. follows the main verb; cf. Intr. 12. — **super . . . erant**: rare tmesis; only here in Tac. — **isdem**: the absol. constr. gives the reason, i.e. "having been equally lavish." — **faenus**: here *capital*, not *interest.* — **instrumenta vitiorum**: as *instrumentum belli* is *outfit for the war* (88 sub fin.), so *instrumenta vitiorum* cover all kinds of luxurious appointments for the table and other indulgences, including silverware, rugs, costly slaves, etc. The attempt to convert these into money all at once would, of course, greatly reduce prices. — **triginta**: Suet. makes it *quinquaginta* (*Galb.* 15). — **ambitu**: i.e. much influence was brought to bear upon the commissioners to favor this or that person. — **numero**: i.e. of those summoned to disgorge (cf. *ubique*), both original recipients and also, in many cases, others who had come into possession. — **onerosum**: to the commissioners. — **hasta**: the place of a public auction was indicated by setting up a spear (originally associated with military booty). In Italy *sell at auction* is still *vendere all' asta.* — **sector**: the purchasers of property at public auctions were a despised class, but feared and hated; cf. 90 *Neronianarum sectionum.* — **actionibus**: litigation naturally followed the attempt to recover. — **urbanis**: ranking below the nine praetorian cohorts

were the *cohortes urbanae*, three in number in the city (numbered X, XI, XII), under command of the *praefectus urbi;* cf. 89; 2, 93; 3, 64. — **Aemilius Pacensis:** restored to favor and promoted by Otho; cf. 87; 2, 12; 3, 73 (his death). — **vigilibus:** the seven *cohortes vigilum*, composed of freedmen and *peregrini*, were commanded by the *praefectus vigilum;* cf. 46, 72; each cohort discharged the duties of firemen and policemen for two "regions" of the city. — **Fronto:** appears again, 2, 26. — **tanquam:** cf. on 8 *tanquam . . . fovissent.* — **per artem . . . formidine:** Intr. 13.

21–49. Otho conspires against Galba, who is assassinated in the Forum, together with Piso and Vinius, 21–47; sketches of the victims, 48–49.

21. in turbido: cf. Intr. 13; more usually in Tac. such phrases serve as predicate, e.g. 37 *in incerto.* — **inopia:** his immense debts are mentioned also by Suet. *Oth.* 5 and Plut. *Galba* 21; *nihilque referre ab hoste in acie an in foro sub creditoribus caderet* (Suet. l.c.). — **fingebat:** i.e. in talking with his friends; note the *oratio obliqua* following without further introduction; it is not a soliloquy. — **Lusitaniam:** cf. above, 13 sub fin. — **destinaretur:** cf. 12 *destinabant.* — **trucem:** cf. 14 fin. *tristior.* — **exilio:** cf. 48 *exul.* — **occidi Othonem posse:** Otho speaks of himself in the third person also (with less vanity) in his last speeches, on the eve of his suicide, 2, 47 f. — **proinde:** in speeches, etc., especially of generals to their men, *proinde* introduces the concluding summons to be up and doing. Cf. 56 fin.; 2, 32 fin. — **agendum:** cf. Livy 22, 53, 6 *audendum atque agendum;* ib. 14, 14; 25, 16, 19 and 23, 15; 26, 7, 6. — **fluxa:** sc. *esset;* the nearness of *coaluisset* in the same constr. justifies the omission; cf. 40 *depulsuri (essent);* 79 fin. *felix bello (fuisset);* cf. on 85 *ne . . . silentium.* — **coaluisset:** the prefix is simply intensive; cf. Sall. *Iug.* 93, 4 *grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa;* Tac. *Hist.* 4, 55 *coalita libertate.* — **transitus:** cf. the use of *transferre* in 25 and 29 (*res sine discordia translatas*). — **rerum** = *power,* as in phrase just cited. — **vel** = *aut;* Tac. uses great freedom in conjunctions; cf. on 19 fin. — **maneat:** the only case of *manere* trans. in Tac.; cf. 18 *quae fato manent.* — **merito perire:** the adverb has the emphasis; the phrase = *mereri mortem* (cf. *Germ.* 14 fin. *vulnera mereri*), with the thought that brave deeds bring their fit reward in a brave man's death.

22. corpori, etc.: *tanto Othonis animo nequaquam corpus aut habitus competit*, Suet. *Oth.* 12. — **et** = *in addition* (persuasion of others added to his own determination). — **quam in**: an innovation for *quam pro.* — **luxus**: the general idea is added to the specific (*aulam Neronis*); for the plur. of the abstr. noun cf. *libidines* below; 39 fin. *diffugia;* 46 *latrocinia et raptus;* 51, 83 *raptus;* 2, 12 *metus;* 76 *pavoribus*, etc. — **matrimonia**: i.e. rapid changes — divorces and marriages, after the manner of Caligula and Claudius. — **quiescenti**: for variety the conditional ptcp. balances *si auderet* (absolutely used; cf. *concupisceret*, 21); Intr. 13. — **aliena**: i.e. forfeited to another, enjoyed by another. — **urguentibus**: Intr. 7. — **mathematicis**: the Babylonian astrologers, also known as *Chaldaei;* cf. 2, 78. — **dum**: not merely temporal, but with added notion of cause; cf. 2, 21 *dum . . . regerunt.* — **novos motus**: i.e. civil commotions or revolutions, *transitus rerum*, 21; for *res novas;* cf. 80. — **vetabitur**: they were expelled under Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, and Vitellius; cf. 2, 62; Dio 49, 43. — **et retinebitur**: a similar epigram, *Ann.* 12, 52 *de mathematicis Italia pellendis factum senatus consultum atrox et inritum.* — **secreta**: the *boudoir* of Poppaea, including figuratively the persons who gathered there. — **Poppaea**: cf. 13. — **matrimonii**: i.e. *household, housekeeping*, but it is hardly possible to render the scorn with which Tac. implies that a new empress brings such worthless retainers with her into the palace. — **instrumentum** = *furniture*, — her salon incomplete without them; conversely honest friends are the best *instrumentum* an emperor can have, 4, 7; *Ann.* 12, 66 *inter instrumenta regni.* — **Othoni**: dative with a noun of agency, instead of genitive — a frequent Graecism in Tac. (rare before Livy); cf. 71 (with *duces*), 88 (*ministros*); 2, 36 (*rectorem*). — **postquam . . . fides**: sc. *fuit;* Intr. 24; cf. 2, 72 fin. — **peritia**: Otho believes in the *science* of Ptolemy. — **obscura** = *mysteries.* — **deerat**: a favorite word with Tac. — here its mg. is completed by a noun of agency (*instinctor*); cf. 36 *nec deerat . . . adorare;* 51 *nec deerat pars Galliarum*, etc.

23. incertum an = *probably not, hardly;* in Cicero it would have inclined to the affirmative side; cf. *nescio an.* — **repens** = *recens*, a Tacitean use. — **in itinere**: the march from Spain with Galba; to make a more definite picture he adds *in agmine, in stationibus*,

referring respectively to daily marches and guard duty at night. — **vocans ac . . . appellando**: Intr. 13. — **Neroniani comitatus**: Tac. forgets — or for artistic reasons ignores — the fact that Nero's praetorians remained at Rome, awaiting the arrival of Galba with his troops from Spain. — **turbamenta**: very rare word, probably coined by Sallust; cf. *hortamenta*, 4, 18. — **lacus**: Avernus and the Lucrine Lake near Baiae. The praetorians had accompanied Nero on such trips, as also on his concert tours to Naples and Greece. — **spatia**: joined by zeugma to *eniterentur*.

24. Tigellinus: C. Ofonius Tigellinus had succeeded Burrus as *praefectus praetorio* (in 62), having won the favor of Nero through his interest in the circus. He was deprived of his post by Nymphidius (cf. 5; Plut. *Galba* 8); for his vicious character and death, cf. 72. — **per speciem convivii**: i.e. *as a pourboire*. It was a common custom to give a sum of money (*sportula*) to clients, soldiers, etc., in place of inviting them to a dinner. Maevius takes care that the *sportula* shall be at least three times that doled out to an ordinary client. — **epularetur**: cf. on 10 *vacaret*. — **intendebat**: cf. on 12 fin. — **speculatori**: picked men of the praetorians, forming a garde de corps, were called *speculatores*, and often employed on special duty, as couriers, etc.; cf. 25, 27, 31, 35; 2, 11, 33, 73. — **praefecti**: Laco; cf. 13.

25. tum: with this the reader's attention is recalled to the days following the adoption of Piso. — **tesserarium**: an under officer whose duty it was to procure from the tribune (or other commander) the wooden tablet (*tessera*) on which was written the watchword or other orders of the commanding officer. — **optionem**: a centurion (or, in the cavalry, a decurion) chose his own assistant (*optio*), who also acted as a substitute in case of absence; cf. on 18 *more militari*. — **perductos**: i.e. before Otho. — **suscepere . . . transtulerunt**: note the effective placing of the verb — the undertaking and its accomplishment — at beginning and end of the sentence; Intr. 9. The change from the *-ere* form to that in *-erunt* is probably due to the love of variety and euphony. It has been thought by so methat Tac. preferred *-ere* for the hist. perf. and *-erunt* for the perf. definite (cf. Gild.-Lodge 131, 4 (b), 5); but the many instances of narrative *-erunt* make this very doubtful. — **manipulares**: contemptuous use of the

regular term for privates (*gregarii*) and officers of the lowest ranks (the *primores militum* of the next sentence); cf. 46. — **per beneficia**: connect with *suspectos;* the promotions, etc., received from Nymphidius might arouse the suspicions of Galba and Piso; cf. 5. — **et ceteros** = *that is (in other words), all the rest; et* is explanatory; cf. on 19 *ac.* — **in commune**: for class. *communiter;* cf. 36 fin., 85; 2, 54. — **mutandae militiae**: they might be degraded by transfer from the praetorian cohorts to the legions on the frontier.

26. legionum: strictly speaking only one entire legion (I *Classica;* cf. 36) was at Rome at the time, Galba's favorite legion of Spaniards (VII *Galbiana*) having been ordered away to Pannonia, perhaps as a demonstration of security on Galba's part. Other legions, however, were represented by detachments (*vexilla*). — **postquam**: the clause depends upon *motas*, hence the pluperf., which is not infrequent in Tac. — **Germanici**: cf. 12. — **dissimulatio** = *indifference;* cf. 73 *dissimulantis;* 28 fin. — **postero**: the 14th Jan.; the unusual reckoning, as compared with the normal method, 27 init., to avoid sameness. For the constr. cf. *postridie* (*pridie*) *eius diei*, and 2, 70 *intra quadragensimum pugnae diem.* — **rapturi fuerint**: i.e. *in castra;* the regular mood and tense when the conclusion of an unreal condition is itself a dependent clause with *ut, ne,* etc.; for *rapio* in this mg. cf. 27 fin., 29. — **incerta noctis**; cf. on 10 *occulta fati.* — **castra**: for the temporary quarters of troops in porticoes, etc., cf. 31. — **nec**: the negation belongs to *facilem* alone (= *et haud*). — **cura**: very loosely connected with *timuissent;* their fears (and consequent self-control) were not influenced by any *rei publicae cura.* — **multa . . . indicia**: not only on the 14th, but on the previous days also, since the adoption. — **elusit**: i.e. *pooh-poohed,* lit. *parried.* — **militarium animorum**: i.e. of the soldiers as such; he appears to have had no military experience before he became *praefectus praetorio.*

27. aede: the great temple built by Augustus on the Palatine; dedicated 28 B.C. (Hor. *C.* 1, 31). It had survived the fire of Nero, 64, when the adjoining palace, the Domus Augustana, was destroyed. — **Umbricius**: cited by Pliny as the chief authority in that day on this form of divination, the *Etrusca disciplina; N. H.* 10, 19. — **tristia**: cf. 3 fin. *laeta tristia,* and below *laetum.*

— **domesticum hostem** = *an enemy in his own household;* cf. 3, 38 *in urbe ac sinu cavendum hostem.* — **praedicit**: governing *exta* also, by an easy zeugma. — **requirentibus**: probably neither Tac. nor his first readers concerned themselves with the question whether this is dat. w. *finxisset* (= *ficta respondisset*), or the vague impersonal abl. abs. used especially by Livy; cf. 85 *conversis.* — **sibi**: regular use of dat. with pass. of *emere*, for the person chiefly concerned, i.e. the purchaser. — **praedia** = *a house;* in Roman law the word comprehends buildings as well as land; cf. Suet. *Otho* 6 *venalem domum;* for the plur. cf. 2, 29 *tabernacula.* — **Tiberianam**: Tiberius, not satisfied with the palace of Augustus, had built another, reaching the western edge of the Palatine. Only the substructions and a long corridor (*cryptoporticus*) remain. Otho takes care not to start at once in the direction of the praetorian camp. — **Velabrum**: the busy, unsavory quarter at the foot of the Palatine, beneath the west front of the Domus Tiberiana. — **miliarium**: the ideal central point of the entire system of Roman roads, erected by Augustus, 20 B.C., at the N.W. end of the Forum. The upper part was of gilt bronze, inscribed with the names of important cities in Italy and the provinces with their distances (measured, however, from the gates of the "Servian" Wall, not from the Golden Milestone itself). — **speculatores**: cf. on 24. — **sellae**: a covered sedan; cf. Suet. *Otho* 6 *abditus propere in muliebri sella.* — **festinanter**: they feared, perhaps, to give him time to reconsider. — **mucronibus**: poetical meton. for *gladiis;* cf. 2, 41; 3, 85. — **miràculo** = *curiosity;* cf. 3. 25 fin.; 5, 23. — **clamore et gaudiis**: hendiadys, — the species in which the second term defines the first; *et* is really epexegetic. The love of variety shows itself in the change of number, as also in *alii . . . plerique . . . pars;* Intr. 13. Cf. 2, 70 *clamore et gaudio.* — **sumpturi**: the fut. ptcp. may indicate destiny, as well as purpose and result; cf. 32 *postulaturis;* 78 *mansura.*

28. stationem: cf. 29; Martialis was in command of the camp at the time; cf. 82. — **magnitudine . . . et . . . metuens**: abl. cause paired with pres. ptcp., cf. Intr. 13; 2, 9 *nutantes seu dolo.* — **an**: cf. on 7 *an.* — **corrupta**: one clause of fearing is condensed into *corrupta latius castra,* another into the single word *exitium.* We are left to infer that Martialis admitted Otho's

party without delay. — **praesentia**: symmetry would require the addition of *et turpia*, but its omission was probably deliberate. — **pauci**, etc.: parallelism, varied by chiasmus.

29. **fatigabat**: a frequent use of *fatigare* = *importune* in Sall., Livy, and the poets. In the hope of more favorable omens he offered one victim after another. — **alieni**: not only are the gods unfavorable, they have already given his throne to another; cf. Intr. 27. — **cum adfertur**: logically the main action (hence the indic.), after the scene or circumstances have been described by an imperf. (or pluperf.) ind. This form of narration, common in all the historians, is called *cum inversum;* cf. 43 fin., 54, 60, 66, 69; 2, 36, 41, 72. — **adfertur rumor**: cf. on 19 *patrum favor aderat;* there is in *ut quisque*, etc., a brusque transition from reports to their bearers, so that *adferunt* is to be supplied with *alii* and *quidam* below. The picture of confusion is thus made more vivid. Cf. Intr. 15. — **incertum quem** = *nescio quem* = *quemdam;* cf. *incertum quonam modo, Ann.* 15, 51; *immane quantum, Hist.* 3, 62 and 4, 34; all consciousness of an indirect question is lost in these phrases. — **alii**, etc.: instead of the symmetrical *alii ob formidinem maiora, alii minora vero* (sc. *adferunt*), Tac. increases the flutter of excitement by the unexpected turn *formidine augentes*, used absolutely. — **igitur**: cf. on 15 init. — **integra**: predicate, *undiminished, intact.* — **servabatur**: for *reservabatur;* cf. Intr. 17. — **pro**: i.e. from the highest step; cf. 17 *pro rostris;* cf. 36 fin. and 2, 26 *pro vallo.* — **sextus**: i.e. Jan. 10–15 incl. — **et**: the following thought must have formed itself in the writer's mind as an *utrum . . . an* question depending on *ignarus*, and hence logically connected with the preceding by *et.* As it is, the dependent question has given way to a mere disjunctive *sive . . . sive;* and still *et* is retained; it should be omitted in translation. — **Caesar**: cf. on 19 *Caesaris.* — **quo . . . fato**: the incomplete indirect question is made to modify *adscitus sum*, and at the same time serves as a subject to *positum est.* The idiom was very likely common in conversation; cf. 2, 76 *quam salutare*, etc. — **meo nomine** = *on my account*, from the language of bookkeeping. — **paveam**: trans., as in 50, 72. — **adversas**: cf. 48. — **cum maxime** = *nunc ipsum; cum* conjunction with *maxime* (*just at the time when . . .*) became a mere adverbial phrase = *at the* (*this*)

moment; cf. 84. — **patris**: gains added emphasis from the omission of *sed* following *non quia;* cf. on 83 *nimia pietas.* — **vicem** = *nomine, causa;* used esp. with verbs of feeling, such as *doleo.* — **proximi motus**: the fall of Nero and rise of Galba. — **incruentam urbem**: the bloodshed mentioned in 6 was as far out as the Milvian Bridge; cf. on 37 *in oculis.* — **translatas**: cf. 21 *transitus rerum.* — **ne . . . quidem** = *also . . . not;* cf. 16, 59 fin., 83; 2, 15, 44.

30. nobilitatis: best taken in the ordinary sense, *noble birth;* while *modestiae* suffices for *moral character.* — **relatu**: a very rare word, probably new in the time of Tac. (as distinct from the supine of *refero*); cf. *Germ.* 3. — **imperatoris**: sc. *Neronis.* — **ageret**: scornfully, of the rôle of a court favorite; cf. 2, 83. — **mereretur**: deliberative of past time. — **volvit**: cf. 54 fin. *eadem acrius volvens;* 64 *bellum volvebat;* 2, 49 *curas animo volutantem.* — **artibus**: cf. 17 *per bonas artes.* — **vacua nomina**: in 2, 32 senate and people are *numquam obscura nomina.* — **ne**, etc.: the normal constr. would be *ut imperatorem haud pessimi faciant;* but *ne* is justified by the idea of a negative wish, — an undesirable result. — **legionum**: Piso is made to play upon the pride of the praetorians, and their contempt for the legionaries. — **audita est**: cf. 76 *prior auditus;* 2, 6 *auditi . . . Caesares;* 65 *audito Vitellii et Othonis principatu;* *Ann.* 2, 68 *audita regis fuga.* — **et . . . quoque**: to justify the preceding statement, in the face of an apparent exception. Tac. occasionally adds *quoque* to *et;* cf. *Agr.* 24 *et Gallico quoque mari opportuna.* — **triginta**: in spite of the conflict of rumors (cf. 29), Tac., having given the exact number in 27, allows himself the liberty of representing Piso as fully informed. — **eligentes**: condensed condition; so also *innocentibus* below. — **transcendet**: it was convenient to forget the part of the Spanish legions in the accession of Galba. — **pertinebunt**: cf. 89 *ad rem publicam pertinuere.* — **perinde . . . quam** = *just as, precisely as;* Tac. prefers *quam* with *perinde* to the older *ac, atque;* cf. 2, 27, 35, 39 fin.; *perinde* alone, 2, 68.

31. turbidis rebus = *riot, mutiny;* cf. 83 init.; the clause, of course, qualifies the following. — **et nullo** = *neque ullo:* Tac. is particularly fond of *et* with a negation: e.g. *Dial.* 12 *et nullis contacta vitiis;* *Germ.* 10 *et nullo mortali opere contacti;* *Ann.* 1, 38 fin. *et nihil ausos;* *Hist.* 2, 32 *et . . . non;* ib. *et nullo;* 38 *et*

nunquam. — **rapit:** cf. 38 *rapta statim arma.* — **signa:** each of the three maniples had its own *signum.* — **missus et:** *et* must refer back to 29 *consultantibus placuit*, etc. Piso having discharged his task, we come now to those assigned to the consul designate and the rest. — **Celsus:** cf. on 14. — **electos:** ordered out by Nero for his eastern expedition; cf. 6. — **Vipsania in porticu:** along the east side of the Via Lata (the Corso). Begun by Agrippa; finished, together with the adjoining park, by Augustus. — **tendentes** = *quartered;* no tents would be needed in the *porticus;* cf. 55, 59 fin.; 2, 66, 93. — **primipilaribus:** i.e. retired first centurions; some continued in the service, often with equestrian rank. — **Germanicos:** v. below. — **Libertatis atrio:** the headquarters of the censors, and seat of the first public library in Rome, founded by Asinius Pollio. Its site is unknown; probably near the Fora of Julius and Augustus. — **legioni classicae:** cf. on 6 *e classe.* They did not venture to send any message to these troops. — **caedem:** cf. on 6 *introitus.* — **si . . . flecteretur:** cf. 3, 30 *iubet, si . . . traherentur;* 52 *explorari placuit, si . . . adirentur,* — i.e. *to see whether;* not unclassical. — **et necdum** = *necdum* or *et nondum;* cf. on *et nullo,* above. — **non ordine militiae:** abl. cause; the corresponding term would be *sed Galbae amicitia,* but for Tac.'s love of variety. The others were simply performing a military duty; Longinus had a further motive, and hence was more roughly handled. — **vexilla:** detachments and auxiliary cavalry carried a banner called *vexillum,* and the word was often applied to the body of men; cf. 6 *numeri* = *vexilla* = *electi;* cf. also 70 med. According to Suetonius, none of those summoned to Galba's aid obeyed, except the vexillation from Germany, but these troops lost their way and came too late (*Galba* 20). — **Alexandriam:** cf. 70. Along with Nero's Oriental projects there was to be a campaign in Acthiopia. — **inde rursus:** either of these words would have sufficed; together they emphasize the weary voyage; join with *longa navigatione.* — **aegros:** seasickness had probably been but one of their maladies.

32. servitiis: the word has passed over from abstract to concrete, the intermediate step (found even in Cic.) being the collective, i.e. slaves as a class; cf. *servitia* below. — **ludicrum:** on the

sporting instincts of the Roman populace, as shown when the troops of Vespasian fought their way into the city, cf. 3, 83. — **iudicium**: i.e. sober estimate of Galba *vs.* Otho. — **veritas** = *sincerity.* — **diversa . . . postulaturis**: viz. 45; on the ptcp. cf. on 27 fin. *sumpturi.* — **pari certamine**: cf. 57 *ingenti certamine.* — **tradito more**: the verb to be supplied is *fiebat* or *agebatur;* Intr. 26. For the sense cf. 2, 90 *vulgus . . . sine falsi verique discrimine solitas adulationes edoctum.* — **licentia adclamationum**: cf. 12 *licentia . . . loquendi.* — **distinebant**: i.e. drew him in opposite directions. — **ultro**: cf. on 7 *ultro.* — **ratio sit** = *should be wise;* cf. 3, 22 *ratio fuit.*

33. terentium: cf. on 13 *transmittentium.* — **expectandum ut**: the clause usually embodies a desired result. — **compositis**: cf. 21 *compositis rebus;* 89 *res Caesarum composuit.* — **prospectante**: if Otho went to the Capitol to offer sacrifice (cf. 47), the greater part of the proceedings could be seen from the Domus Tiberiana. — **dum . . . cludit**: Tac. often inserts a *dum*-clause in *or. obl.* with its original mood, — one of the means by which he gives such animation to quoted speeches; cf. 3, 38 fin., 70; *Dial.* 32 fin. — **egregius**: the irony is continued in *fortibus, nimirum, praeclarum.* **ianua**, etc.: i.e. not venturing beyond his threshold; cf. *Agr.* 10 *litore tenus adcrescere; Ann.* 3, 5 *porta tenus.* — **elanguescat**: cf. 46 *elanguerat;* 4, 42 fin.; much more freq. Tac. uses *languescere.* — **perinde** = *iuxta* = *equally.* — **vel** = *even.* — **invidiosius**: the *caedes Galbae* did inspire terror and *odium* towards Otho; cf. 2, 31.

34. nec: with *diutius cunctatus;* cf. 71 *nec Otho,* etc. — **speciosiora**: cf. 57 *speciosis S.P.Q.R. nominibus;* 2, 20 fin. *speciosis et inritis nominibus; Ann.* 1, 81 fin. — **praemissus**: Galba was to go to the camp later. — **infensus**: the sending of Piso would be thought by the praetorians to prove a decline in the influence of their *bête noire,* Vinius. — **irati**: i.e. esp. Laco and Icelus. — **et** = *et vero* or *et sane;* cf. 48 *et Claudius,* 59; 2, 10 sub fin. — **vagus**, etc.: cf. 2, 73 *vagis adhuc et incertis auctoribus.* — **ut in . . . mendaciis**: cf. on 4 *ut erga principem.* — **inter gaudentes**: cf. on 1 *inter infensos.* — **arbitrabantur**: not at the time, but soon afterwards; in *multi* he has in mind his sources.

35. plebs: cf. 4 fin. *plebs sordida;* 82 *populus . . . plebs;* 36. — **in plausus**: the verb is found in *ruere* in the figurative sense

(*burst out*), while the lit. sense is required with *intus*. — **plerique**: cf. on 5 *plerisque*. — **intus**: here used for *intro;* confusion of the two words was reckoned a solecism by Quintilian (1, 5, 50), but, if the text is sound, Tac. thought better of popular usage. — **ausurus**: cf. on 27 fin. *sumpturi*. — **nimii verbis**: sc. *esse;* cf. 3, 75 *sermonis nimius*. The plural after *quisque* and a superl. is not rare; cf. 2, 66 fin., 84 fin. — **thorace**: danger apart, Galba would have donned the *thorax* (= *lorica*) in any case, to appear before the praetorians. — **insigni animo**: the abl. qual. is particularized in the following adjj. — **minantibus**: dat., while its counterpart is a prep. phrase; cf. Intr. 13. — **incorruptus** = *incorruptible;* cf. *Ann.* 3, 75 *incorrupta libertate*; *Agr.* 22 *incorruptum . . . testem*.

36. agmine et corporibus: abl. with *contenti;* the whole idea that they bore him on their shoulders in procession is condensed into three words. Cf. Suet. *Otho* 6 *succollatus et . . . imperator consalutatus, inter faustas adclamationes strictosque gladios ad principia devenit*. — **in suggestu**: cf. 55 fin. *suggestu locutus; Ann.* 1, 44 *reus in suggestu . . . ostendebatur*. — **signa**: each praetorian cohort had its own standard. — **vexillis**: the *speculatores* (cf. 27) are represented by their *vexilla* (cf. on 31 *vexilla*). — **populo ac plebe**: cf. 35, 40. — **variis**: i.e. lacking in uniformity, — no common spirit. — **segni adulatione**: abl. cause with *variis*. — **armis**: probably from *armi* rather than *arma;* cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12, 433. Most of the soldiers were at the moment without weapons (cf. 38 fin.); yet the *speculatores* of 27 were armed, and were, no doubt, the most conspicuous now. — **praeire**: usually, of the officer who dictates the formula for the soldiers to repeat; cf. 2, 74 *praeeuntem sacramentum;* Plin. *Ep.* 10, 52 *praeivimus et commilitonibus ius iurandum*. — **deerat**: cf. on 22 fin. — **omnia serviliter**: an adverb, adverbial phrase, etc., may suggest an unexpressed verb; cf. on 65 *crebrius infestiusque;* 52 *plura ambitione;* Intr. 26. — **classicorum**: they had joined the praetorians without delay, 31. — **accepit**: the actual taking of the oath is meant; cf. 2, 6. — **singulos . . . in commune**: chiasmus; for *in commune*, cf. on 25 fin. — **pro vallo**: he has left the tribunal, to take his place *on* the wall; cf. 29 *pro gradibus;* 2, 26 *pro vallo*.

37. quis = *in what capacity, under what title*. — **sustineo** = *bear, bring myself to;* cf. *Dial.* 26 *neminem . . . nominare . . .*

sustinuit. — **in incerto**: cf. 47 *in incerto fuit;* 2, 33 fin. *in incerto reliquerat;* 45 *in ambiguo* (also *Agr.* 5); frequent in Livy (*in dubio, in facili,* etc.). — **auditisne**: imagined hearing, of course; no such cries in or about the Forum could be distinctly heard at the camp (1½ miles away). — **ut**: this interrog. clause is more freq. after *video.* — **poena mea**: cf. 32 *caedem Othonis.* — **cuius lenitatis est** = *qua lenitate est,* ironical; cf. 2, 37 *qua prudentia fuit.* — **tot milia**: cf. on 6 *introitus;* Otho naturally exaggerates the numbers. — **feralem** = *ghastly;* applied in various senses to anything connected with death. — **in oculis** = *in conspectu;* cf. 2, 35 fin.; 50 fin. *ex oculis* = *e conspectu.* The Milvian Bridge (87) is more than 2½ miles from the Capitol. — **Obultronius**: *aerarii quaestor* in 56; cf. *Ann.* 13, 28. — **L. Cornelius Marcellus**: probably commander of a legion in Spain, previously procos. of Sicily (*CIL.* X, 7192). — **Betuus**: unknown. — **Fonteius Capito**: cf. on 7, where Macer is also mentioned; cf. 11. — **Cingonius, Turpilianus**: cf. on 6. — **Nymphidius**: cf. on 5. — **remedia**: cf. *Ann.* 1, 49 *non medicinam illud . . . sed cladem appellans.* — **falsis nominibus**: cf. *Agr.* 30 fin. *auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus imperium . . . appellant.* — **severitatem** = *strictness;* cf. on 14. — **saevitia** = *severity.* — **septem**: from June 9, 68. — **Icelus**: cf. 13. — **Polycliti**, etc.: typical plural, — *a Polyclitus,* or *the Polycliti;* cf. 2, 95. A freedman of great influence, Polyclitus was sent by Nero to Britain with extraordinary powers after the revolt of Boadicea, in 61; *Ann.* 14, 39; put to death by Galba. — **Vatinius**: a buffoon from Beneventum, who gained great power over Nero. Tac. reckons him as one of the *foedissima ostenta* of the court (*Ann.* 15, 34). — **Aegialus**: not mentioned elsewhere. — **perdiderunt** = *squandered;* cf. 30 *perdere iste sciet.* — **nunc**: cf. on 15 *nunc.* — **una illa domus**: sc. *T. Vinii;* others understand Icelus' house to be meant; but the thrust at Vinius is no mere parenthesis. — **exprobratur** = *obicitur;* Galba had made their requests a matter for reproach; cf. 5 fin.

38. ab exilio: cf. 48, 21. — **tristitia**: cf. 14 fin. *tristior;* the quality meant is an exaggeration of *severitas* (cf. on 37), showing itself in a man's whole bearing. — **tempestate**: cf. 18 *imbribus . . . tonitrua,* etc. — **voco**: cf. 2, 76 *ad imperium voco.* — **omnium**: Otho omits to make exception of the legions on the

Rhine, the news of whose uprising under Vitellius was being suppressed as far as possible by Galba; cf. 50. — **nec . . . defendit** = *et . . . haud defendit.* — **una cohors**: cf. 29, 31. — **togata**: i.e. *without armor*, as the praetorians did not actually wear the toga. — **detinet**: implying that otherwise Galba would flee. — **signum** = *watchword*, given out by the *imperator* to the tribune commanding the cohort on guard; cf. *Ann.* 1, 7 *signum praetoriis cohortibus ut imperator dederat* (sc. *Tiberius*); Nero's first *signum* was *Optima mater*, ib. 13, 2. — **mihi plurimum inputet** = *shall lay me under the greatest obligation;* lit. *set down the highest charge against me;* cf. 55 fin., 71; 2, 60, 85. — **peractum**: cf. Intr. 27. — **armamentarium**: for the arsenal in the praetorian camp cf. 80. The tombstone of its architect (temp. Vespas., Domit.) has been found near Rome; *CIL.* VI, 2725. — **ut . . . distingueretur**: the clause expands and explains *more et ordine militiae;* cf. on 2, 23 *ne . . . tolerarent.* — **insignibus** = *emblems, designations* (on the armor). — **miscentur**: i.e. *armed themselves indiscriminately;* the arsenal contained weapons and armor for all kinds of troops; some contented themselves with the accouterments of auxiliaries.

39. in urbem usque: the camp (cf. 17) was separated from the "Servian" Wall and Agger by an open campus, the distance from the *porta praetoria* of the camp to the Porta Viminalis of the city being less than one third of a mile. Piso may have gone as far as the city gate (cf. 34). — **adsecutus erat**: perhaps near the temple of Vesta; cf. 2, 65 *adsequitur.* — **rettulerat**: from the troops at the Porticus Vipsania; cf. 31. — **redire . . . petere**: for the usual *ut*-clause; an infin. constr. with *censere* is found also in Sall. and Livy; cf. *Iug.* 21, 4 *velle et censere eos ab armis discedere;* Livy 21, 20, 4 *censere . . . ipsos id avertere in se,* etc.; 45, 16, 1 *censuere . . . fieri . . . et Macedoniam Illyricumque eosdem . . . obtinere.* With the passive also; cf. 2, 10 *dari . . . censebant.* — **plerique**: cf. on 5 *plerisque.* — **rostra**: in front of the Temple of Concord. — **occupanda**: by its derivation the word retains the thought of a rival or enemy, to be outwitted or anticipated by prompt action; so in 56 *occupari . . . fortunam;* 62 *occupandam urbem;* 84 *nationes . . . occupavit.* — **plures** = Ciceronian *plerique;* cf. 41, 52. — **Laco**: cf. 13. — **initio . . . orto**: even

Tac. employs this pleonasm, common everywhere in Latin; cf. 2, 79 *initium . . . coeptum.* — **diffugia**: plur. abstract; cf. *transfugia*, 2, 34; *effugia*, *Ann.* 3, 42, etc. No other extant writer uses *diffugia*. Cf. on 22 *luxus.* — **alacres**: cf. 35.

40. agebatur: in his *sella*, 35; he is now in the Forum. — **basilicis**: on the right (N.) the Basilica Aemilia, on the left the Basilica Iulia, begun by Julius Cæsar. These great buildings, divided by rows of columns or pillars into aisles (five in number in the case of the Iulia), served at the same time the purposes of law courts, exchanges, and public lounging places. From their second stories (over the side aisles and porches) they commanded a view of the open area of the Forum. — **templis**: of Castor and Pollux, Saturn, Concord, the Curia. — **prospectu**: i.e. the scene upon which they looked down. — **plebis**: cf. 35 init. — **vox . . . aures . . . tumultus**: for the style of this description cf. Intr. 23. — **quale**, etc.: i.e. *tale silentium, quale.* — **occupare** = *anticipate, forestall;* cf. on 39 *occupanda.* — **Vologaesus I**: (generally *Vologaeses* in *Ann.*), king of Parthia in Claudius' and Nero's time, and through most of Vespasian's reign; *Ann.* 12, 14 fin., etc. — **Pacŏrus**: brother of Vologaesus, and viceroy of Media; *Ann.* 15, 2, 14. — **depulsuri**: sc. *essent;* cf. on 21 *fluxa.* — **rapidi** = *raptim vecti;* cf. 2, 40 *citus equo;* only a part of the praetorians were mounted. — **irrumpunt**: with the constr. of *invadunt;* cf. 61, 82; they had probably come by the Vicus Patricius from the Porta Viminalis, entering the Forum by the Argiletum, between the Curia and the Basilica Aemilia; Plut. *Galba* 26. — **templorum**: here including those on the Capitoline also. — **religio** = *sanctity;* cf. 43. — **terruere**: with the const. of *deterruere;* cf. 2, 63. — **quo minus**: cf. on 18 *quo minus.* — **ultor**: cf. 44 fin.

41. comminus = *approaching;* adv. with the force of adj. or ptcp.; cf. *comminus pugnam*, *Ann.* 2, 20; *comminus captivitate* (i.e. *impending*), *Germ.* 8. — **vexillarius** = *signifer;* for *signum* and *vexillum* are often interchangeable; cf. 44 *inter signa cohortium.* — **cohortis**: cf. 29. — **imaginem**: a medallion, probably of gold, attached to the shaft in the midst of the (horizontal) wreaths, and other emblems, which had been presented to this cohort. — **Curtii lacum**: a celebrated spot, near the center of the Forum, connected by different legends with Mettius Curtius, the Sabine

king (Livy 1, 13), and with the youth M. Curtius who leaped into a chasm, which thereupon closed over him (id. 7, 6). It was entirely dry in the time of Augustus (Ovid, *F.* 6, 403). The existing remains, found in 1904, consist chiefly of an irregular inclosure, *ca.* 10 × 6 metres, containing a dodecagonal base, etc. — **ferentium**: subst. use of the ptcp., esp. freq. for a noun of agency, even in the *Dial.;* e.g. 6 *dicentium = oratorum;* ib. *orantibus = oratoribus;* 41 *medentis = medici;* ib. *cognoscentis = iudicis.* — **mali** = *crime* (not its punishment). — **meruisset** = *fecisset,* or *commisisset,* as in 4, 72. — **deprecatum**: stronger than *precatum;* on the "aoristic" use of ptcp. cf. Intr. 12; cf. *Ann.* 11, 35 *non moras temptavit, precatus ut mors acceleraretur.* — **agerent**: i.e. *hoc agerent* (as in Suet. *Galba* 20), from the sacrificial formula (*hoc age*), which called attention to the beginning of the ceremonies. — **evocatum**: i.e. he had completed his term in the ranks, and now enjoyed the special favors of the *evocati,* who served as volunteers, employed mainly in civil functions. Galba also gave this name to a bodyguard of knights; Suet. *Galba,* 10. — **quintae decumae**: cf. on 9 *legiones.* — **hausisse** = *perfodisse:* used by soldiers when a man was killed by a side-thrust (Serv. on *Aen.* 10, 314); but the historians and poets in thus using the word, no doubt consciously imitated Homer's διαφύσσω (e.g. *Il.* 13, 507 f.). Cf. Lucr. 5, 1324; Ov. *Met.* 5, 126 *latus hausit;* Liv. 7, 10, 10; Claud. Quad. *ap.* Gell. 9, 13, 17.— **tegebatur**: sc. *thorace,* 35.

42. et ipso: simply *also* (with reference to 41 *varie prodidere,* to *non satis constat,* etc.). This use of *et ipse = he also,* very rare in Cic., is lacking in Caes. and Sall., freq. in Livy, seldom in Tac.; cf. 2, 33 fin. — **conscientiam**: i.e. to claim knowledge of Otho's instructions was to inculpate himself. Trustworthy accounts of Vinius' conduct during the final scene were lacking. If he was privy to the conspiracy, Tac. lets him overdo the part of Galba's friend, to the complete neglect of his own safety. — **huc**: cf. *Ann.* 14, 2 *fama huc inclinat.* — **ut . . . fuerit**: the supposition takes the form of a subst. clause in apposition with *huc.* Similar brachylogy is not rare even in Cic.; cf. *Leg.* 2, 11; *Fin.* 1, 14; *N. D.* 1, 21. — **aedem**: the Temple of the Divus Iulius was built by Augustus at the east end of the Forum, on the spot where Julius had erected new rostra, and where his body

was burned. The foundation remains. — **iacuit** = *cecidit.* — **in poplitem**: by zeugma with *transverberatus.*

43. insignem . . . virum: cf. *Aen.* 1, 10 *insignem pietate virum.* — **Sempronius**: in Plutarch (*Galba* 26) and Dio (64, 6) he loses his life while protecting Galba. — **custodiae**: for his projected visit to the camp. — **exprobrans ac . . . vertendo**: cf. Intr. 13. — **quanquam**: used like *quamvis* with a ptcp.; cf. 60 fin., 63, 76; 2, 15, 72, 86. — **aedem Vestae**: a circular temple, close to the Aedes Divi Iulii and the Castor temple; the remains are insignificant. — **publici**: the sacristan, or *aedituus*, was a slave of the state. — **contubernio**: cf. 3, 74; the house of the *aedituus* must have adjoined the Atrium Vestae, or palace of the Vestals; there could be no concealment within the temple. — **caerimoniis**: (i.e. *loci*) = *hallowed character*, syn. with *religione;* cf. 40 fin.; of a spring, *potus sacros et caerimoniam loci, Ann.* 14, 22 fin. — **cum advenere**: cf. on 29 init. — **nominatim**: explained by 44 init. — **Britannicis**: cf. 6 *numeri e . . . Britannia.*

44. levata = *freed, relieved.* — **vacare gaudio**: not merely *have time to rejoice*, but *give itself wholly to rejoicing.* — **recordatio . . . confuderat**: this stands logically in a concessive or adversative relation to *Pisonis . . . credebat*, but the members are merely coördinated. — **imagine**: i.e. *associations.* — **legionis**: sc. *classicae*, cf. 31 and 36. — **qui interfuerant**: they had taken pains to stain their hands too. — **iactabant**: sc. *caedem;* cf. 51 *iactabant.* — **libellos** = *petitions.* — **postea**: after the short reign of Otho. — **honori**: instead of *ad honorem;* cf. *Ann.* 2, 7 fin. *honori patris;* also with *dare*, cf. 77 *honori datum.* — **munimentum . . . ultionem**: explanatory apposition to the sentence, — regularly acc. when the verb denotes activity. The purpose, or result, is then briefly expressed by mere apposition, or the writer adds in this form his own comment; cf. 46 fin. *rem . . . utilem;* 72 *effugium in futurum*, 3, 31 *extremum malorum;* 4, 19 *causam seditioni; Ann.* 1, 27. Note in the present case the chiasmus and variety in prepositions; cf. Intr. 8, 13. — **ad praesens**: cf. 85 init. *ad praesens.* — **in posterum**: in case of their own assassination their successors would maintain the tradition of vengeance; cf. 40 fin.

45. alium: cf. 2, 90 *alterius civitatis senatum populumque;* Plut. *Galba* 28 καθάπερ ἄλλοι γεγονότες. — **crederes**: cf. on 10

laudares. — **proximos**: the acc. has become the usual constr. with *anteire* in Tac.; cf. 87 fin.; on 2, 3 *stirpem;* 2, 5, 30. — **exosculari**: this silver Latin cpd. has the mg. of an intensive; cf. 2, 49 *exosculantes.* — **falsa**: cf. 19 *effusius qui noluerant.* — **avidum**: in what direction, is shown by *praedarum initium* below. — **temperans**: conative, cf. 9 *retinentis.* — **Celsus**: cf. 31, 39. — **artibus** = *qualities,* as in 10 *malis bonisque artibus.* — **iubere**: sc. *scelus.* — **iussum**: translate *having ordered,* etc.; not depending upon *adfirmans.* — **et**: connecting *iussum* with *adfirmans,* in spite of the difference of voice and agreement, — a freedom borrowed from the Greek; not rare in Livy; cf. *Ann.* 3, 11 (*-que*); Intr. 13. — **exitio subtraxit**: he was later pardoned by Otho; cf. 71.

46. deinde = *from this time on.* — **Plotius Firmus**: cf. 82; he appears again as a devoted friend of Otho, at the latter's death, 2, 46, 49. — **manipularibus**: cf. on 25 *manipulares.* — **vigilibus**: cf. on 20 fin. *vigilibus.* — **Licinius Proculus**: cf. 82, 87; 2, 33, 39 f., 44, 60. — **fovisse**: cf. 4, 34 fin. *suspectus bellum malle; Ann.* 2, 57 *dissentire manifestus;* a usage borrowed from the poets. — **Flavius Sabinus**: elder brother of Vespasian (cf. on 10), with whom he served in the conquest of Britain; governor of Moesia, prefect under Nero; cf. 2, 55, 63, 99; 3, 59 *et passim,* esp. 75 (his necrology). — **vacationes**: here by meton. the sum paid for exemption from duty (*vacationes munerum*). It was an old abuse; cf. *Ann.* 1, 17, 35. — **pendebat**: sc. *vacationes.* — **dum** = *dummodo.* — **genus quaestus**: explained by *latrocinia,* etc. — **pensi** = *importance, consideration* (lit. *weight*); gen. of price, as *Dial.* 29 *pensi habet,* and Val. Max. 2, 9, 3 *nec pensi duxerat;* cf. *Ann.* 13, 15; developed out of the partitive use of *pensi* with *nihil* and *quicquam* in Sall. and Livy. — **latrocinia et raptus**: for the pair of synonyms, cf. Intr. 14; for the plur. abstract, cf. on 22 *luxus.* **tum** = *ad hoc* = *moreover.* — **fatigari**: here the hist. inf. standing alone; cf. 50 *maerere;* 52 *instigare;* 2, 11 fin. *ire;* 19 *laudari;* 23 fin. *miscere cuncta.* — **elanguerat**: cf. 33 *elanguescat.* — **bella civilia**: the force of *ad* (with *seditiones*) is still felt; cf. on 4 *legiones.* — **vulgi**: obj. gen.; cf. on 2, 72 *veri.* — **fiscum**: as distinguished from the senatorial treasury, *aerarium,* the imperial treasury was called *fiscus.* It was charged with the maintenance of the army, the military provinces, etc. — **annuas**: i.e.

the centurions annually received from the *fiscus* a fixed sum, in place of the *pretia vacationum*. — **rem**: for the apposition cf. on 44 *munimentum*. — **principibus**: also by Vitellius, 58 init. — **Laco**: cf. 13. — **praefectus**: in contrast with *in libertum* below. — **tanquam**: i.e. he and others were given to understand that he was to be imprisoned on an island (cf. 2 *plenum exiliis mare*). Grammatically this clause should depend on a perf. ptcp., e.g. *amotus* (cf. *Ann.* 16, 9 *tamquam Naxum deveheretur, Ostiam amotus*); but such a word is merely implied in the *prae* of *praemiserat*. — **confossus**: at the island. — **libertum**: now a freedman of Otho, as successor to Galba; for the *liberti Caesaris*, cf. 37, 58; 2, 92 fin., 94, etc. — **animadversum**: i.e. he was tortured and crucified; cf. on 2, 72 fin.; 4, 11 fin. The place of execution was a building (Sessorium) to the east of the Esquiline. It was later inclosed in an angle of the Wall of Aurelian, at S. Croce in Gerusalemme; cf. Plut. *Galba* 28 fin.; *Ann.* 15, 60; 2, 32 fin.

47. vocat: by their position the verbs of this passage emphasize the indecent haste. — **praetor urbanus**: both consuls being dead, the duty devolved *more maiorum* upon the *praetor urbanus*. — **Augusti**: most conspicuous of the imperial titles, first given to Octavian in 27 B.C. Vitellius accepted it reluctantly, 2, 90 fin. — **honores**: the titles *imperator* and *Caesar*, the office of pontifex maximus, etc. The consulship also was of course awarded to Otho, an office upon which he entered Jan. 26, with his brother as colleague; cf. 77. — **sensit**: Tac. does not doubt that Otho remembered the *convicia*, but no one suffered the consequences (*sensit*). — **in incerto**: cf. on 37 *in incerto*; *Ann.* 6, 45 *omiserit receperitve, in incerto fuit ob propinquum vitae finem*. — **in Capitolium**: in order to make a thank-offering. — **concedi . . . permisit**: silver Latin constr.; cf. *Ann.* 14, 12 *cineres reportari sepulcrumque exstrui permisit; Hist.* 4, 22 *rapi permisere;* so with *oro, impetro*, etc., *Ann.* 11, 10 fin. *permitti . . . orabant;* 12, 27 *deduci impetrat*. The tautology may be reproduced from the official language of the *acta diurna*. — **Verania**: daughter of a governor of Britain, Q. Veranius, cos. 49. An anecdote about her is told by Pliny, *Ep.* 2, 20. Her epitaph (with her husband's) was found some years ago near the Via Salaria (*Bull. Com.* XIII, 1885, p. 102; *CIL.* VI, 31723). — **Scribonianus**:

Crassus Scribonianus, cf. 15 *est tibi frater.* There was also a sister, Licinia Magna, wife of another Piso (L.). — **Crispina**: cf. 13 *vidua filia;* 72 *servatam ab eo filiam.*

48. explebat = *had not yet completed;* cf. 3, 86; usually *agebat.* — **Magnus**: Cn. Pompeius Magnus, had married Claudius' daughter Antonia; was with the emperor in Britain, but put to death *ca.* 47 with his parents; cf. on 14; Suet. *Claud.* 27, 29; Sen. *Apoc.* 11, 2, 5. — **Crassus**: M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, cos. ord. 64; accused by the notorious Regulus and put to death; cf. 4, 42; Plin. *Ep.* 1, 5, 3. — **interfecerant**: instead of the sing. required by class. usage for the independent, or contrasted, action of two subjects; cf. 76 *adegere;* 2, 24 *sumpsere;* and on 2, 30 *inridebant;* Tac. regularly prefers the plur. — **exul**: cf. 21 *exilio.* — **quadriduo**: cf. on 19 *quadriduo.* — **Caesar**: cf. on ib. *Caesaris.* — **properata**: *properare,* like *festinare,* is used trans. by Tac.; cf. 76 fin.; 2, 57; 3, 40. — **prior occideretur**: from this it is evident that Scribonianus also was put to death later on, perhaps by Domitian. — **variis**: explained by what follows. — **avus**: perhaps the T. Vinius who was proscribed by the triumvirs (Dio 47, 7). If so, the name must have been assumed in consequence of adoption, or a will. — **legatum**: cf. on 9; the province meant was Pannonia, in the time of Caligula. — **C. Calvisius Sabinus**: cos. 26; narrowly escaped death for *maiestas* in 32 (*Ann.* 4, 46; 6, 9). On returning from Pannonia he and his wife were both accused, but anticipated trial by suicide in 39. Seneca (*Ep.* 27, 5 ff.) pointedly says that he had both the wealth and the character of a freedman. Cf. Dio 59, 18. — **habuerat**: Vinius was probably *tribunus militum* at the time. — **uxor**: Cornelia; cf. Dio, l.c. — **lascivia**: no word is too strong to express Tac.'s abhorrence of such trifling, most repugnant to Roman feeling. Tiberius was highly incensed at Agrippina's familiarity with the camp; *Ann.* 1, 69; cf. ib. 2, 55. — **principiis** = *headquarters,* the open space before the general's tent (*praetorium*); here were the standards, the tribunal, and an altar. — **mutatione**: i.e. the accession of Claudius. — **inoffenso**: i.e. he encountered no further obstacles. — **respersus**: only here in Tac. in a figurative sense. — **tanquam . . . furatus**: the charge takes the form of a ptcp. clause with *tanquam.* Tac.'s use of *tanquam* does not carry with it a judg-

ment as to the truth or falsity of the statement; cf. on 8 *tanquam . . . fovissent.* — **et**: cf. on 34 *et.* — **fictilibus**: a *calix fictilis* in Suet. *Claud.* 32. — **proconsulatu**: for the abl. cf. *Ann.* 3, 28 *quae triumviratu iusserat.* — **Gallia Narbonensis**: a senatorial province conquered 121 B.C. (and enlarged by the territory of Massilia, 49 B.C.). It extended from the Pyrenees to the Lake of Geneva. Its chief cities were Narbo (Narbonne), Tolosa (Toulouse), Nemausus (Nîmes), Arelate (Arles), Massilia (Marseilles), Valentia (Valence), Vienna, the capital (Vienne), Cularo (Grenoble), and Genava (Geneva). Cf. 76, 87. — **severe**: a complimentary term; cf. on 14 *severus.* — **intendisset**: cf. on 10 *vacaret.* — **paupertas**: not *poverty.*

49. **neglectum** = *uncared for, unprotected.* — **dispensator** = *steward, cashier,* in charge of accounts, etc., an important post in any large slave-household. — **hortis**: beyond the Janiculum, on the Via Aurelia (Suet. *Galba* 20). — **lixas** = *sutlers;* cf. 2, 87; 3, 33. — **calones** = *camp-servants,* unarmed slaves; cf. on 2, 87. — **suffixum**: cf. Suet. *Galba* 20 *qui hasta suffixum* (sc. *caput*) *non sine ludibrio circum castra portarunt.* — **Patrobius**: his character may be inferred from 2, 95 *Polyclitos Patrobios et vetera odiorum nomina.* — **punitus**: i.e. executed. — **tribus**: this would give 5 B.C. for his birth-year; Suet. *Galba* 4, makes it 3 B.C. (Dec. 24). — **principes**: Augustus to Nero inc. — **emensus**: with the figure of a road traversed. — **suo**: his reign was nine months and twelve days, from Apr. 3, 68, when he was hailed imperator in Spain, seven months six days from the death of Nero. — **ingenium** = *character.* — **extra**: both *extra* and *citra* are used in silver Latin in place of *sine;* cf. *Agr.* 1 *citra fidem;* ib. 8 *extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.* — **appetens . . . avarus**: climax. — **incidisset**: cf. on 10 *vacaret.* — **forent** = *essent;* also subjv. of indefinite frequency; cf. 2, 5 *si res posceret;* only one case with *si* has been cited from Cicero (*de Orat.* 1, 232), and that open to another explanation. — **natalium** = *generis;* a silver Latin innovation; cf. 2, 76 *nobilitate natalium;* 86 *claris natalibus; Agr.* 6 *splendidis natalibus.* — **obtentui** = *excuse,* more lit. *mantle;* cf. *Ann.* 1, 10 *obtentui sumpta;* in *Hist.* 2, 14 fin. *mantle* = *protection.* — **sapientia**: cf. *Agr.* 6 *gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit.* — **apud Germanias**: the colloquial use of *apud* for

in (*apud forum*, etc.), found in the comedy, in official language, once or twice in Cic., became very common in the later writers; of countries, first in Tac. Galba was governor of Upper Germany under Caligula, and won high credit as a commander; Suet. *Galba* 6. He also went to Britain on the staff of Claudius in 43; Suet. ib. 7. — **Africam**: cf. Suet. ib. *Africam pro consule biennio optinuit* (a more usual expression than Tac.'s *continuit*) . . . *ordinavitque magna severitatis ac iustitiae cura, etiam in parvulis rebus.* — **maior privato**, etc.: cf. Intr. 27.

50–70. The rise of Vitellius. Made emperor in Germany, he sends two armies over the Alps.

50. simul . . . simul: Cic. or Caes. would have used *cum . . . tum* or *et . . . et*, etc. A single example of *simul . . . simul* is cited from Caes. (*B.G.* 4, 13, 5); freq. in Vergil, Livy, and Tac. — **paventem**: cf. on 29 *paveam.* — **Vitellio**: cf. 14 init. — **suppressus**: cf. 16 *si duae legiones . . . nondum quiescunt.* — **crederetur**: in place of the class. constr. (acc. with infin.) with the pass. of *credo*, Tac. regularly prefers, as here, the personal constr. — nom. with infin.; cf. 78 *creditus est . . . agitavisse;* 4, 67 *interisse creditus;* but cf. 90 *Othonem uti credebatur.* — **maerere**: cf. on 46 *fatigari.* — **recentia**: under Nero. — **saevae pacis**: cf. 2 init. — **repetita**, etc.; cf. *Ann.* 15, 46 *iam Spartacum et vetera mala rumoribus ferente populo.* — **exercitibus**: the (inferior) agent, treated as mere means, the responsibility resting with their commanders. Cf. 79 fin. *suis ducibus*, etc. — **Pharsaliam**: the district around Pharsālus; cf. 2, 38; the names are so arranged that the great battles at a distance are paired (asyndetically), while the lesser battles, of even more terrible memory, on Italian soil form a second pair (with polysyndeton). Euphony and alliteration were further reasons for deserting the chronological order (Pharsalus, 48, Mutina, 43, Philippi, 42, Perusia, 41). — **imperium**: note the contrast with *rem publicam*, below (on the latter cf. 16 init.). — **Pompeio**: the opposite view of Pompey (Tac.'s own opinion) is given in 2, 38. — **ituros**: rhetorical question; *ibimus* in *oratio recta;* cf. 2, 48 *an Vitellium . . . fore;* 75 *quid enim profuturas*, etc. — **inter**: cf. on 1 *inter infensos.* — **deteriorem**: even if the lesser villain should be victorious, success would make

him a worse man than his rival in infamy. The thought was perhaps a Stoic commonplace. A parallel is cited from Sen. *Ep.* 14, 13: shall it be Caesar or Pompey? — a question of no moment to Cato: *quid tua* [sc. *refert*], *uter vincat? potest melior vincere, non potest non peior esse, qui vicerit.* — **arma Orientis**: cf. 2, 1 *arma Vitellii;* Intr. 19. — **ut . . . ita**: cf. on 4 *ut . . . ita.* — **ambigua**: for his *avaritia*, cf. 2, 5; Suet. *Vesp.* 16 *sola est, in qua merito culpetur, pecuniae cupiditas.* — **omnium**, etc.: this illogical inclusion of himself among those with whom he is compared, appears to have arisen from a misunderstanding of Homer's *ὠκυμορώτατος ἄλλων*, where the gen. was not part. but ablatival, marking "the starting point of the comparison" (Seymour on *Il.* 1, 505). Cf. *Agr.* 34 *ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi;* Milton's "fairest of her daughters," and two similar cases in the same context, *P.L.* 4, 321–324. — **ante se**: in attributive position; a Graecism, in place of *superiorum.*

51. Vindex: cf. on 6. — **ditissimi**: the wealth and prosperity of Gaul in this period were almost proverbial. King Agrippa asked the Jews whether they thought themselves richer than the Gauls; Josephus *B. I.* 2, 16, 4; Mommsen *R. P.* I, 115. Nero had at first rejoiced (?) at the news of Vindex' revolt as an opportunity *spoliandarum iure belli opulentissimarum provinciarum*, Suet. *Nero* 40; cf. *Ann.* 3, 46; 11, 18. — **aciem**: *volebat* is in mind, but becomes *malebat* as the remainder of the sentence takes on a different form. — **ingenio** = *natura;* even of things; cf. 2, 4 *ob ingenium montis.* — **supererant**: cf. *Germ.* 26 *et superest ager;* 6 *ne ferrum quidem superest;* below, 83 *egregie supersunt.* — **seque et**: freq. in Tac., usually with a pronoun for the first term; also in Sall. and Livy; cf. *Agr.* 18 *seque et arma.* — **quaerere**: cf. on 46 *fatigari.* — **hostes**: sc. *Gallos* (from *Gallias*). — **deerat**: cf. on 22 fin. *deerat.* — **pars Galliarum**: i.e. esp. the Treveri and Lingones, 53 fin. — **instigatrix**: only here in Tac. — **Vindice** = *Vindicis nomine;* i.e. they ceased calling them *Vindiciani* in contempt. — **indiderant**: sc. *iis.* — **Sequani**: their territory (later included in Upper Germany) lay between the Arar (Saône) and the Jura; capital Visontio (or Vesontio) = Besançon. — **Aedui**: in Gallia Lugudunensis, west of the Sequani, between the Liger (Loire) and the Arar; capital Augustodunum = Autun, which replaced

Caesar's Bibracte. — **deinde**: instead of *reliquis* or *ceteris*. — **raptus penatium**: cf. 46 *raptus*. — **super**: cf. on 8 *super*. — **publice**: the gifts were to communities, not individuals; cf. 66 *publice . . . multati*. — **in ignominiam**: equiv. to a purpose clause; cf. on 12 *in . . . odium*. — **iactabant**: cf. 44 *iactabant*. — **vulgatum**: the neuter subst. takes the place of a clause (*the fact that*, etc.), as subj. of *accessit*. — **Lugudunensis**: Lugudunum (Lyons) had many reasons for attachment to the Julian-Claudian house. It was especially favored in its unique position as capital of the three Gauls; had a mint, and a garrison, — 1200 men, — the only troops stationed in Gaul; cf. on 64; Josephus *B. I.* 2, 16, 4; Strabo 4, 186, 192. It had contributed 4,000,000 sest. to the rebuilding of Rome after the fire of 64, and had received from Nero the like sum in 65, when Lyons had suffered in the same way still more disastrously; *Ann.* 16, 13; Sen. *Ep.* 91; Mommsen *R. P.* I, 95 ff. — **fecunda**: here with abl., as in 2, 92; but with gen. above, 11 *annonae fecundam*. — **et**: the asyndeton could not be continued on account of the insertion of a modifier (here a clause); cf. 56; 2, 1 med.; 92, 95 med.; with *aut* 2, 80.

52. Vitellius: for his previous career cf. on 9. — **plura**: sc. *egerat;* cf. on 36 *omnia serviliter*. — **ambitione**: cf. on 1 *ambitionem*. — **sordes**: cf. 60 *per avaritiam ac sordes*. — **Fonteius**: cf. on 7. — **integre**: cf. 48 fin.; *Agr.* 7 *integreque ac strenue versatum*. — **mensura**: nom., sc. *erat;* others take it as abl. — **in maius**: as in 18 med. — **ut . . . ita**: cf. on 4 *ut . . . ita;* cf. *sicut . . . ita* below. — **humilis**: in a bad sense, *common, vulgar;* cf. 2, 23 fin. *humillimo cuique*. — **faventes** = *fautores*. — **sine modo**: cf. 76 fin. — **imperi dandi**: cf. *Ann.* 15, 52 *imperium . . . daturis;* 12, 64 fin. *filio dare imperium;* 14, 7 *illo sibi die dari imperium*. — **modesti** = *orderly, well-disciplined;* cf. on 60 *modestia;* 2, 12 *modestiam disciplinae;* 87 *summa modestia; Agr.* 20 *laudare modestiam*. — **A. Caecina Alienus**: cf. 53; one of the leading figures in the story from this point on; cos. suff. in 69; cf. 2, 71, 99–101; 3, 8–9, 13–14, 37. He conspired against Vespasian in 79, and was put to death by Titus as prefect of the city; Suet. *Tit.* 6. — **C. Fabius Valens**: cf. 7, 57, 61, etc.; *legatus* of the 1st legion, at Bonn; the rival of Caecina in the struggle for the control of Vitellius; cos. suff. with Caecina; cf. 2, 71 *et passim;* his

death as a prisoner at Urbinum, 3, 62. — **tanquam**: cf. on 8 *tanquam . . . fovissent.* — **detectam a se** = *his disclosure of*, etc., and similarly *oppressa;* Intr. 11. — **cunctationem**: cf. 8 *nec statim*, etc. — **instigare**: cf. on 46 *fatigari.* — **ipsum**: sc. *Vitellium.*— **Flaccus**: cf. on 9. — **male**: cf. on 17 fin. *male.* — **precarium**: not *precarious*, but *held on sufferance;* those who gave (i.e. the legions) could also take away. The expression is from the Roman law, which recognized in *precarium* a specific form of loan or lease that could be recalled at will, as being a matter of pure benevolence. Cf. *Dig.* 43, 26, 1, 2 *qui precario concedit, sic dat quasi tunc recepturus, cum sibi libuerit precarium solvere.* — **sinum**: cf. 3, 69 *in Vespasiani sinum.* — **equestri familia**: without the *virum* or *hominem* of classical usage, cf. 53 *scito sermone;* so the gen. qual. 69 *notae facundiae* (cf. note). — **patris consulatus**, etc.: cf. on 9. — **dignationem**: cf. on 19 *dignationem.* — **his**: neut.; cf. Tac.'s formula *his atque talibus, Agr.* 16; *Ann.* 11, 17, 24, etc. — **concupisceret**: cf. 2, 76 *quo posses videri concupisse.*

53. iuventa: cf. 4, 1 *procerum . . . iuventa;* the word is always abstr. in Tac., while *iuventus* is concrete. — **animi**: this loc. gen. is freq. in Tac. (found also in Sall. and Liv.); cf. 2, 23 *promptus animi;* 3, 58 *aeger animi; Ann.* 1, 69 *ingens animi.* — **scito** = *clever;* cf. *Ann.* 6, 20 *scitum . . . dictum* (of a *bon mot*). — **iuvenem**: predicate apposition. — **Baetica**: the southern, and most thoroughly Romanized, province in Spain, governed by a proconsul; chief cities Corduba (Cordova), Gades (Cadiz), Hispalis (Seville). — **compertum . . . avertisse**: for the constr. cf. *Ann.* 4, 22 *accusata iniecisse;* ib. 31 *convictus pecuniam . . . cepisse;* so Sall., Livy. — **passus**: used absolutely; but 67 *aegre id passi.* — **miscere cuncta**: cf. 2, 23 fin.; 4, 29 *misceri cuncta; Dial.* 36 *mixtis omnibus.* — **universus**: cf. 51 *contractae legiones*, etc. — **vexillis**: cf. on 31 *vexilla.* — **praeventus**: trans.; cf. 5 *praeventam.* — **Treveri**: in the Moselle valley; chief town Augusta Treverorum (Trèves, Trier), one of the most important cities of Gallia Belgica, in the 4th century a capital of the empire. — **Lingones**: west of the upper Saône (Arar), about the sources of the Seine and Marne (Sequana and Matrona); chief town Andematunnum (Langres, mediev. Langoinne), on the through road from the Rhine via Trèves to Lyons. — **atrocibus**: i.e. *threatening;*

cf. 2, 40 fin. — **damno finium**: cf. 8 *finibus ademptis.* — **miscentur**: of dealings or relations with, etc.; cf. 74 *antequam legionibus miscerentur.* — **paganos** = *civilians;* cf. 2, 88 *adversus paganos.* — **favor**: cf. on 8 *Verginius.* — **profuturus**: of that which was naturally to be expected; cf. 11 fin. *cessurae erant.*

54. civitas: i.e. Andematunnum; cf. on 53 *Lingones;* cf. 64 *in civitate Leucorum;* ib. *proxima Lingonum civitas.* — **dextras**: as in 2, 8 *dextras, concordiae insignia;* clasped hands, in bronze, probably. A specimen has been preserved at Lyons. — **in squalorem**: cf. *Agr.* 42 *in adrogantiam compositus;* cf. 2, 9 *in maestitiam compositus.* — **principia**: cf. on 48 *principiis;* the scene of this story is Moguntiacum (Mainz), cf. on 9 init. — **praemia**: cf. on 8 *recenti,* and 51 *remissam . . . publice donatos.* — **pronis . . . auribus**: as in 1 *pronis auribus.* — **cum**: on the *cum inversum* cf. on 29 *cum adfertur.* — **per . . . inscitiam**: darkness and ignorance on the part of their *commilitones* are brought together under the same preposition as being contributory causes; cf. 3, 22 *per iram ac tenebras.* — **circumdatis**: this arrangement was a reversion to the older camp plan as described by Polybius. The legions now commonly surrounded the auxiliaries, as this passage shows. — **volvens**: cf. 64 *bellum volvebat;* omitting the usual *animo, in animo,* etc.

55. sollemni = *customary;* the *sacramentum* was renewed each 1st Jan. — **adactae**: *adigere* was the term for administering the oath; it was done by the highest available officers. Cf. 76 *Vespasianus . . . Mucianus sacramento . . . adegere;* 2, 55 (the *praefectus urbi*); 79 (governor of Egypt); cf. 2, 14. — **primorum ordinum**: probably = *the front rows.* Others understand the *first centurions* (ten to each legion). The former interpretation is perhaps favored by *raris.* Cf. 18 *proximi militum.* — **sequi**: a kind of apposition to *natura;* cf. 2, 20 *insita mortalibus natura . . . introspicere.* — **primani**, etc.: for the stations of the legions, cf. on 9 *legiones;* below, 57 init. — **iecerint**: the usual neglect of tense-sequence in a result-clause; cf. 60 *perfugerit.* — **legiones**: on the plur. cf. on 18 *legiones.* — **hibernis**: cf. on 9 *exercitus;* 54. The omission of the prep. is esp. freq. in military Latin; cf. 2, 22 and *Agr.* 25 *isdem castris;* 2, 45 *isdem tentoriis;* but also 2, 50 *celebri luco.* — **tendentes**: cf. 31 *tendentes.* — **reverentiam**: cf. 12 *rupta sacra-*

menti reverentia (on this same occasion); *Germ.* 29 *imperii reverentiam.* — **exuere**: cf. 3, 5 *ne . . . ius fasque exuerent.* — **senatus populique**: cf. 12 *senatui ac populo Romano arbitrium eligendi permittere.* — **ut in tumultu**: cf. on 4 *ut erga principem;* 8 *tanquam . . . multitudine.* — **suggestu**: usually with *pro, de,* or *e,* but if the text is correct, Tac. has preferred to match the prep. phrase *in modum* by simple abl.; cf. *Ann.* 3, 5 fin. *toro;* 14, 20 *theatro;* 16, 5 *sedilibus; Dial* 13 fin. *tumulo;* Intr. 13. — **cui inputaretur** = *whom they could lay under obligations;* cf. on 38 *mihi plurimum inputet.*

56. consularis: the word emphasizes the fact that he was commander of both legions, as governor of the province — an officer of the highest rank, but only *spectator flagitii.* — **ruentes . . . dubios . . . bonos**: anticlimax in form, but a climax of condemnation for Hordeonius. — **et**: cf. on 51 fin. *et.* — **prioris sacramenti**: to Galba, administered by Verginius Rufus, June, 68. — **unde** = *a qua parte;* from the expression *ab aliquo stare* = *to stand up for a man* (take sides for him) comes the use of *unde,* etc., with *stare* and *esse;* cf. Livy 21, 10, 9 *unde ius stabat, ei victoriam dedit;* id. 24, 45, 3 *aliunde stet semper, aliunde sentiat.* For the omission of correlative *inde* cf. 3, 17; 4, 29. — **fuere**: note the effect of the tense after *erant.* — **colonia Agrippinensis**: capital of Germania Inferior = Cologne, Köln. The younger Agrippina, who was born there during the German campaigns of her father, Germanicus, induced her husband, Claudius, to establish a colony of veterans at Oppidum Ubiorum A.D. 50, and gave her name to the new city; *Ann.* 12, 27; *Hist.* 4, 20, 25, etc. — **aquilifer**: he had 120 miles to cover between Mainz and Cologne. — **occupari**: cf. on 39 *occupanda.* — **legiones**: i.e. *inferioris Germaniae,* at Bonna (57), Novaesium, and Vetera (on 9). — **proinde**: cf. on 21 *proinde.* — **minore discrimine**: emphatic, — *it was less dangerous;* cf. 2, 46 *maiore animo tolerari.* — **sumi**: i.e. to take some one ready to hand, which could mean only Vitellius.

57. hiberna: at Bonna (Bonn); the camp was just north of the modern city. — **Valens**: he was now *legatus* of the 1st legion; cf. on 52. — **cum equitibus legionis**: the 120 cavalrymen attached regularly to the legion; his auxiliary cavalry would be more numerous; cf. Josephus *B. I.* 3, 6, 2. — **speciosis**: cf. 34 *speciosiora.*

— **scires**: cf. on 10 *laudares*. — **penes** = *at the disposal of, under the orders of; res publica* is personified. — **Agrippinenses**: cf. on 56. — **Treveri**, etc.: cf. on 53. — **ingenio** = *ability*, in various directions, — any kind of available talent, executive, inventive, etc. — **ex affluenti**: used as pred.; cf. 3, 49 *satis factum bello ratus et cetera ex facili* (sc. *fore*); cf. *Agr.* 15 *ex facili*, used as simple adv., and so *ex aequo* frequently, e.g. 2, 77. — **viatica**: i.e. *savings*. — **balteos** = *shoulder belts*, over the left shoulder, supporting the sword at the right side; often adorned with silver *bullae*, etc., and given as rewards of valor. — **phaleras**: large disks of silver, with heads, etc., in relief. If a soldier had received several of these decorations, he wore them on a kind of harness across the breast; also used on the trappings of horses. — **insignia**: apposition with *balteos, phaleras*. — **decōra** = *ornata*. — **instinctu**, etc.: the first *et* connects a pair of synonyms, the second after a slight pause, and with an unexpected sarcasm, adds a further motive, in some cases, i.e. cool calculation of large returns from their present investment.

58. igitur: cf. on 15 *igitur*. — **ministeria**: Vitellius, having no body of freedmen trained in accounts and affairs, was forced to make an innovation which was not regularly adopted by his successors until Hadrian. In Claudius' reign the imperial freedmen, Narcissus, Pallas, etc., were virtually ministers, or cabinet secretaries, each with his special department (*a rationibus, ab epistulis*, etc.). — **vacationes**: the policy of Otho too; cf. 46. — **plerosque** = *multos:* cf. on 5 *plerisque*. — **simulatione**: Otho had done the same, 45 fin., 71. — **Pompeius Propinquus**: his offense was that he had been the first to inform Galba of the events of Jan. 1 at Mainz; cf. 12. — **procurator**: cf. on 2 fin. *procurationes;* a Cornelius Tacitus, perhaps the father of the historian, had held this office in Gallia Belgica; Plin. *N. H.* 7, 76; Intr. 1. — **classis**: the Rhine fleet was first organized by Drusus, 12 B.C., and had played an important part in the campaigns of Tiberius and Germanicus. — **tanquam**: cf. on 8 *tanquam . . . fovissent*. — **Fonteio**: cf. 8. — **occidere . . . licebat**: cf. 45 fin., of Otho's similar embarrassment. — **sanguine**: *is* is omitted for reasons of euphony at the beginning; cf. 2, 86 *prima iuventa*.

59. Iulius Civilis: the politic mercy of Vitellius unexpectedly

gave the Germans an able leader in the serious war which broke out this same year, and was put down by Vespasian in 70; cf. 4, 13 *et passim.* — **periculo**: dat.; cf. 2, 93 *periculo exemisset;* 3, 4 *discrimini exemptum;* 3, 10 fin.; the class. constr. was abl. with *ex* or *de* (simple abl. also in Livy). — **Batavi**: at the mouths of the Rhine; cf. 4, 12. — **ferox** = *warlike, eager for battle;* cf. 68 *feroces;* 2, 43 *ferox;* Britain is a *ferox provincia* in *Agr.* 8. — **et** = *et sane,* as 34; i.e. such regard for the Batavians had its obvious explanation. — **civitate Lingonum**: cf. on 53. — **Batavorum cohortes**: after long service in Germany they were sent to Britain by Nero just after the revolt of Boadicea in 61; cf. 4, 12; *Ann.* 14, 38. They join Valens on his southward march through Gaul; cf. 64; 2, 27, 66, 69. — **quartae decumae**: it had shared in the conquest of Britain by Claudius, and the suppression of the rebellion of 61; recalled with the Batavian auxiliaries by Nero, 68; was in Dalmatia at the time of his death, or soon after; part of the legion fought for Otho at Bedriacum; sent back to Britain by Vitellius; cf. *Ann.* 14, 34; *Hist.* 1, 64; 2, 11, 27, 43, 66, etc. — **inclinassent**: not subjv. of repeated action (cf. on 10 *vacaret*), but an informal ind. discourse, representing the fut. perf. indic. in the mind of Vitellius, as he weighs the chances; in lieu of a principal clause we have merely apposition (*momentum*); cf. 76 and 2, 86 *grande momentum.* — **supra**: i.e. 56. — **fidei crimine**: cf. 71 *servatae . . . fidei crimen.* — **desciscentes**: cf. 31 *fidus . . . et desciscentibus suspectior.* — **Valerius Asiaticus**: cos. designatus in Dec. of this year (4, 4); an inscription seems to show that he died before entering upon his office (*CIL.* VI, 1528). He was probably son of the Valerius Asiaticus who owned the gardens of Lucullus (Pincian), and was forced to suicide by Claudius; cf. *Ann.* 11, 1, 3. — **generum**: the daughter in question afterwards received an ample dowry and a husband of rank from Vespasian; cf. 75 fin.; Suet. *Vesp.* 14. — **Iunius Blaesus**: he received Vitellius in state, 2, 59; poisoned in the autumn of this year, 69, through the machinations of Vitellius' brother, 3, 38 f. — **rector** = *governor,* — a broad, non-technical term; formally he was *legatus Augusti pro praetore.* — **Italica**: *prima Italica,* a legion organized by Nero, and with the *ala Tauriana* temporarily stationed at Lyons; cf. on 51 *Lugudunensis;* also 64, 74; 2, 41. — **Tauriana**:

doubtless owed its name to a Statilius Taurus; cf. *Ann.* 12, 59. — **tendentibus**: cf. 31 *tendentes*. — **Raeticis**: cf. 68 *Raeticae alae cohortesque;* cf. on 11 *Raetia*. — **ne . . . quidem** = *also not, not . . . either;* cf. on 29 fin. — **dubitatum**: i.e. the legions in Britain promptly took the *sacramentum* to Vitellius.

60. M. Trebellius Maximus: colleague of the philosopher Seneca as cos. suff. in 56 (or 55); engaged in a census in Gaul in 61 (*Ann.* 14, 46); governor of Britain, 63–69; in the *Agr.* 16 Tac. describes his administration in rather more favorable terms. — **per**, etc.: i.e. the means by which he had won the contempt and hatred of the soldiers; an innovation upon the usual expression of cause with *propter* (*ob* in Tac.; cf. on 65 *propter*). — **M. Roscius Coelius**: cos. suff. 81; his successor in Britain was Tac.'s father-in-law; *Agr.* 7 fin. — **vicensimae**: cf. on 9 *Britannico*. — **olim** = *for some time;* cf. 67 *quod olim Helvetii*, etc.; 2, 7 *olim mixtis consiliis;* 92 *olim anxii odiis; Agr.* 3 *res olim dissociabiles* (i.e. *from time immemorial*). — **proruperant**: the other party, Trebellius, had been suggested by *discors*. — **spoliatas**: cf. *per avaritiam*, above. — **cum interim**: a special type of *cum inversum*, cf. on 29 *cum adfertur*. — **modestia** = *discipline*, good order; cf. on 52 *modesti;* 64 *modestia certavere;* 83 *modestia;* 2, 27 init. *ad modestiam*. — **eoque discordiae**: cf. 16 *eo necessitatis*. — **cohortibus**: i.e. of auxiliaries; cf. 54, 61 *cohortibus alisque;* 68 and 2, 11 *alae cohortesque*. — **perfugerit**: cf. on 55 *iecerint*. — **quanquam**: cf. on 43 *quanquam*. — **consulari**: cf. 9 *sine consulari* [sc. *legato*]. Vitellius sent Vettius Bolanus in place of Trebellius; 2, 65.

61. adiuncto: figuratively, connecting with 59 fin., since 60 is a digression. Only detachments (*vexilla*) actually came from Britain; cf. 2, 57; 3, 22. — **Cottianis Alpibus**: usually *Cottiis*. The longer route was via Trèves (cf. 53), up the Moselle valley, past Metz (63), Toul (64); then via Langres (54) and Dijon (Dibio) to the Saône, and so to Lyons (51); down the Rhone to Valence (Valentia); up the Drôme and the Durance to the pass, Mt. Genèvre (Alpis Cottia, later Matrona, 1860 metres), and down to Turin (Augusta Taurinorum). Distance, Cologne to Turin, *ca.* 690 Roman miles. — **inrumpere**: cf. on 40 *irrumpunt*. — **Poeninis iugis**: the usual route from Germany led up the Rhine to Basel (Augusta Rauricorum), thence over the eastern end of the Jura

(Mons Vocetius, 68), to Windisch (Vindonissa; cf. on 1, 9; 4, 61, 70), up the Aar, and past the Lake of Morat, via Avenches (Aventicum, 68), to the Lake of Geneva at Vevey (Viviscus); up the Rhone to Martigny (Octodurus), over the Great St. Bernard pass (Alpis Poenina, 2428 metres), and down via Aosta (Augusta Praetoria). Distance, Mainz to Milan, *ca.* 460 Roman miles. — **electi**: i.e. a *vexillum* each from the Ist, XVth, and XVIth legions. — **aquila**: here by meton. for the main body; cf. the use of *vexillum*, e.g. 31 fin.; 2, 89 *aquilae . . . vexilla . . . signa.* — **quintae**: from Vetera; cf. on 9. — **cohortibus**: cf. 60 fin. — **data**: takes its gender from the appositive; cf. 86 fin. — **ducebat**: strictly speaking, not until he had passed Vindonissa, at the junction of the Reuss with the Aar, the station of XXI (cf. on 9; 2, 43). In addition to this legion he had detachments from the IVth and XXIId legions at Moguntiacum. The rest of XXII evidently went to Italy with Vitellius; cf. on 2, 57 *Germanici exercitus.* — **tota mole belli**: cf. 2, 16 *tanta mole belli;* 74, 100. The phrase represents rather the potential than the actual strength of Vitellius' third army; it would be impossible to withdraw all the troops from Germany and Britain; cf. 2, 32.

62. **instare**: the eagerness of the soldiers is reproduced in the animated style of this sentence, — hist. infin., primary sequence (except *esset*), abrupt lapse into indirect quotation (at *dum*, etc.). All this in contrast with the leaden *torpebat Vitellius.* — **cunctentur**: for the sudden defection of Spain, cf. 76. — **hiemem**: Caecina did cross *hibernis adhuc Alpibus*, but not in January; 70 fin. — **moras**: i.e. *inertia.* — **occupandam**: cf. on 39 *occupanda.* — **fortunam** = *high rank;* cf. 10 fin. — **praesumebat** = *enjoyed in advance;* cf. *Agr.* 18 *praesumpta . . . quies.* — **medio diei**: the freq. use in Tac. of neut. subst. with gen.; cf. 3, 11 init.; 2, 53 *medio temporis;* 2, 14 fin. *obscurum noctis.* — **sagina**: contemptuous; cf. 2, 71 *luxu et saginae mancipatus emptusque* (of Vitellius); 95 fin. — **cum tamen**: *cum*, with imperf. in both clauses, marks the coincidence, *tamen* the contradiction. — **ultro**: cf. on 7 *ultro.* — **munia**: the form regularly preferred by Tac. in this mg. — **addito**: aoristic; cf. on 20 *relicta.* Formally the senate alone could confer the title. — **Caesarem**: he also declined at first the title Augustus; 2, 62, 90. — **prohibuit**: with acc. and pass. infin. even in Cic.

and Caes. — **augurium**: this kind of nom. apposition is to be distinguished from the acc. apposition, for which cf. on 44 *munimentum;* the former allows greater freedom of position; cf. 4, 57 *flagitium incognitum; Ann.* 2, 17 *pulcherrimum augurium.* — **profectionis**: i.e. from Cologne. — **meatu** = *volatu.* — **incederet**: cf. on 10 *vacaret.*

63. Et . . . **quidem**: i.e. the omen had immediate fulfillment; cf. 8. — **Treveros**: cf. on 53 *Treveri.* — **Divodurum** = Metz, which is derived from Mediomatrici, corrupted into Mettis as early as the sixth century (Venant. Fort.); next to Trèves the most important place in the Moselle valley. — **quanquam**: cf. on 43 *quanquam.* — **raptis**: cf. Intr. 7; the very loose abl. abs. displaces a result clause (*adeo terruit, ut,* etc.). — **ob praedam . . . cupidine**: on the variety cf. Intr. 13. — **et causis incertis**: *et* does not exactly correspond with the preceding *et* (which rather = *-que);* cf. on 57 fin. *instinctu.* — **eoque**: the use of *-que* between ablative phrases which we place in quite different categories shows that Tac. drew no such hard and fast lines. — **cum magistratibus et precibus**: may be taken as hendiadys (= *cum magistratibus deprecantibus*); but it is unlikely that Tac. meant to limit the *preces* to the magistrates; and elsewhere he pairs things which do not strictly admit of such treatment; cf. 2, 3 *precibus et igne puro;* 3, 22 *per iram ac tenebras,* etc. — **quaeque . . . tendebantur**: for the loose connection of this type of clause with a preceding abl. abs. cf. 2, 4 init. — **placamenta**: i.e. other gifts, and olive-branches, fillets, etc.; cf. 66 *velamenta et infulas praeferentes.*

64. **imperio** = *accession:* cf. on 4 *imperii.* — **civitas Leucorum** = Tullum, now Toul, on the upper Moselle, west of Nancy. The Leuci occupied the territory south of the Mediomatrici, north of the Lingones, i.e. west of the Vosges Mts. — **accepit**: the news must have reached this part of Gaul within twelve to fifteen days; the date is then about the end of January. — **in gaudium**: for the variety, — prep. phrase and abl., cf. Intr. 13. — **volvebat**: cf. 54 fin. *volvens.* — **ex Vitellio**: cf. *Agr.* 16 *ex legato timor;* 2, 67 *e praetoriis cohortibus metus erat;* classical *metus,* etc. *ab aliquo.* — **Lingonum civitas**: now Langres; cf. on 54 init. — **modestia**: cf. on 60 *modestia.* — **cohortium**: the Batavians of 59. — **supra**: 59. — **iurgia**: subj. of. *exarsere,* no ellipsis. — **studia mili-**

tum: cf. Cic.'s *studia iuventutis = interested young men, Cato M.* 28; cf. 17 *publica expectatio.* — **exarsere**: after *prope* it was unnecessary to write *exarsissent.* — **animadversione** = *supplicio.* — **imperii** = *authority;* gen. ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *oblitos* and *admonuisset.* — **Aeduos**: cf. on 51 *Aeduis.* — **Lugudunenses**: cf. on ib. *Lugudunensis.* — **gaudio**: in Gaul and Germany Vitellius, having claimed the throne before the death of Galba, was considered the avenger of Nero. Elsewhere Otho profited by the same reaction. — **Italica**: cf. on 59 *Italica.* — **ala**: cf. ib. — **duodevicensimam**: for about fifty years at least the garrison of Lugudunum had consisted of a single cohort of a thousand men (*Ann.* 13, 41; 21 A.D.; 1200 men in Josephus *B. I.* 2, 16, 4), stationed there partly on account of the mint (*moneta*, cf. on 51). Cf. the tombstone (found at Vichy) of a soldier COH (*ortis*). XVII·LVGVDVNIENSIS·AD·MONETAM (*CIL.* XIII, 1499). By the year 69 the 17th cohort had been transferred to Ostia (below, 80), and the 18th had come in its place. They were probably reckoned among the *cohortes urbanae*, of which three only were stationed at Rome. — **solitis sibi**: cf. *Ann.* 3, 51 *Tiberius solitis sibi ambagibus; Hist.* 4, 23 *machinas etiam, insolitum sibi, ausi.* — **T. Manlius Valens**: as *legatus* of a legion in Britain he was defeated A.D. 50 (*Ann.* 12, 40). At the age of 90 he became cos. in 96.

65. Viennenses: Vienna (Vienne) on the Rhone below Lyons, the chief town of the Allobroges. Even in the time of Claudius it was *ornatissima colonia valentissimaque Viennensium*, as that emperor himself describes it in an oration preserved in part on a bronze tablet at Lyons (*CIL.* XIII, 1668). Vienne was the seat of the senatorial governor of Gall. Narb. — **bellum**: the uprising headed by Vindex, governor of Gall. Lugud.; cf. on 6 and 8. Lyons remained loyal to Nero. — **in vicem**: attributive position; cf. *Agr.* 24 *magnis in vicem usibus; Germ.* 37 *multa in vicem damna.* — **crebrius infestiusque**: the ellipsis of *fieri* (here *factae erant*), *agere*, etc. was frequent in letters, rare in the historians, except Tac.; cf. 36 *omnia serviliter*, and note ad loc; 84 *vos quidem istud pro me; Agr.* 19 *nihil per libertos.* — **propter**: the only occurrence of causal *propter* in Tac., except *Dial.* 21; on the other hand he does not use his favorite *ob* of persons. — **irae**: i.e. to satisfy his anger; obj. gen.; or like 60 *occasione*

civilium armorum, subj. gen. — **discretis:** Vienne is on the left bank, while Roman Lyons was on the right bank of the Saône, directly opposite the tongue of land between Rhone and Saône. The cities were in reality 16 miles apart, but fact is sacrificed to epigram. Note the chiasmus and antithesis. — **conexum odium:** i.e. *a link of hatred.* — **nuper** = *more recently;* i.e. after the fall of Vindex. — **externa:** supporting Vindex could be made to appear evidence of anti-Roman feeling. — **coloniam:** Vienne was also a Roman colony (cf. 66), but of more recent organization as such (Caligula, Claudius), than Lyons (43 B.C., Octavian). — **partem exercitus:** Lyons alone among Gallic towns had a Roman garrison; cf. on 64. — **contra daret:** as the judge, who decides in favor of one of the parties was said *secundum aliquem dare,* fortune here gives an unfavorable decision; the same phrase, *Ann.* 15, 13.

66. in eundem modum: attributive; Tac.'s usual phrase is *his atque talibus;* cf. 2, 2; 1, 16 fin. — **cum:** cf. on 29 *cum adfertur.* — **velamenta et infulas:** olive branches wound with woolen fillets; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11, 101 *velati ramis oleae veniamque rogantes;* 7, 154 *ramis velatos Palladis;* Plaut. *Amph.* 257 *velatis manibus orant.* — **vestigia:** substituted for *pedes* partly for reasons of euphony; note the crescendo effect. — **tum** = *tum demum;* after their humiliation; cf. 82. — **vetustas,** etc.: cf. on 65 init. — **aequis:** cf. *pronis auribus* 1 and 54. — **publice:** i.e. as a community; cf. 51 *publice donatos.* — **promiscuis** = *of every kind;* omit *et* in translating. — **fama constans:** cf. *Agr.* 43 *constans rumor.* — **inopi iuventa:** causal abl.; or circumstantial abl. illogically connected with *senex prodigus* for the sake of the chiasmus. — **Allobroges:** their territory was partly inclosed (*insula Allobrogum*) between the Rhone and the Isère, but extended also to the Lake of Geneva and Mt. Blanc; chief towns Vienna, Cularo (Grenoble), Genava (Geneva). — **Vocontii:** south of Grenoble, chiefly in the mountains of southern Dauphiné; principal towns Vasio (Vaison) and Lucus (v. below). — **stativorum:** it was a *lentum agmen,* lingering in *stativa,* until sufficient inducements tempted them to move on. — **adversus:** unusual for *cum,* when the phrase modifies a subst. — **minaciter:** join with *venditante;* his bargaining was not without threats of violence. —

Lucus: on the river Drôme, in Dauphiné, now Luc. — **quotiens . . . deesset**: cf. on 10 *vacaret.* — **Alpes**: sc. *Cottias;* cf. on 61 *Cottianis Alpibus.*

67. hausit: zeugma, of that form in which the lit. and fig. mg. of a word are combined; cf. below, *tuebantur.* — **turbidum**: i.e. *fiery;* cf. 4, 38 *nequaquam turbidus ingenio.* — **Helvetii**: Caesar, *B.G.* 1, 2 gives their boundaries as the Jura (N. and W.), the Lake of Geneva and upper Rhone (S.), and upper Rhine (N. and E.). — **olim**: before Caesar's conquest, 58 B.C. The greatest fame had been achieved by the canton of the Tigurini, who under the lead of Divico had joined the Cimbri, 107 B.C., defeated a Roman army on the Garonne, had later invaded Italy by the Brenner pass, 102, and returned to their homes the next year after the great defeat of the Cimbri (Caes. l.c. 7 and 12; Livy, *per.* 65). — **de caede . . . ignari**: instead of the gen.; yet Tac. does not avoid two gen. depending on each other; cf. 70 init. — **initium bello**: a favorite use of the dat. with Tac.; cf. 2, 1 *initia . . . imperio;* 4, 19 *causam seditioni; Ann.* 2, 21 *finem bello;* ib. 64 fin. *causas bello; Hist.* 2, 19 *sedem bello;* 3, 8 *quae sedes bello legeretur.* — **unaetvicensimae**: cf. on 61 *ducebat.* — **rapuerant**: i.e. before Caecina reached Vindonissa. — **castelli**: cf. on *locus,* below; the nearness of the German frontier accounts for the *castellum,* garrisoned and maintained by the Helvetii. — **olim**: for the mg. cf. on 60 *olim.* — **tuebantur**: with the usual mg. (with *militibus*) is combined that of *maintained* (with *stipendiis*); cf. above, *hausit.* Cf. *Ann.* 3, 54 *nos . . . nemora nostraeque villae tuebuntur; Germ.* 14 *tueare.* — **epistulis** = *litteris;* i.e. a single letter, as often in Tac. and Pliny's *Ep.;* cf. 2, 54 fin., 55 fin., 64, etc. — **municipii**: i.e. the *vicus* had grown and prospered, until it might be mistaken for a *municipium.* — **locus** = *Aquae Helvetiorum,* or *vicus Aquensis,* now Baden, east of Vindonissa. The Roman interest in watering-places is shown by the fact that the Antonine Itinerary contains the names of more than thirty *Aquae,* and seventy others are known from inscrr., etc. — **amoeno**: adds the idea of the picturesque situation. — **Raetica auxilia**: cf. 59 fin.

68. feroces: cf. on 59 *ferox;* a common characteristic of the Celts; cf. Caesar, *B.G.* 3, 19, 6 *ad bella suscipienda Gallorum*

alacer ac promptus est animus. — **quanquam**: with ind., uncommon in Tac.; cf. 2, 92 fin. — **Claudium**: many provincials in Gaul and the Rhine provinces bore the emperor Claudius' name. The popularity of Julius Caesar was shown in the same way; cf. 68 fin. *Iulium Alpinum;* 69 *Claudius Cossus;* 4, 13 *Iulius Civilis;* 33, 55, etc. — **non arma noscere** = *armis uti nescire.* — **ordines sequi**: cf. *Germ.* 30 *nosse ordines.* — **in unum**: cf. 4, 70 *in unum consulere;* 2, 5 *in medium consuluere; Agr.* 12 *in commune non consulunt.* — **veteranos**: the modern use of the word; not in the strict sense. — **obsidio**: from the standpoint of the besieged. — **inde**: preferred by Tac. to *illinc* as correlative to *hinc;* cf. 84 *hinc . . . inde;* 2, 6, 15, etc. — **Raeticae**: cf. 59 fin. — **iuventus**: i.e. *militia.* — **exercita** = *trained, drilled;* cf. 2, 4 *exercitae bello.* — **medio**: between the legion and the forces from Raetia; on the omission of *in,* cf. 3, 16 *vacuum medio relinquit iter; Ann.* 1, 64 *medio montium et paludum.* — **vagi**: to avoid the monotony of *vagantes . . . palantes.* Cf. Sall. *Iug.* 18, 2 *vagi palantes;* Liv. 5, 44, 5 *vagique per agros palantur;* 21, 61, 2 *vagos palantisque per agros.* — **mons Vocetius**: now Bözberg, at the eastern end of the Jura. — **cohorte Thracum**: several cohorts of Thracians on the Rhine are known from inscriptions; one had its station at Neuwied. — **sub corona**: cf. Caelius Sabinus (the jurist) *ap.* Gell. 6, 4, 3 *antiquitus mancipia iure belli capta coronis induta veniebant et idcirco dicebantur "sub corona" venire; Ann.* 13, 39 fin.; Livy 5, 22, 1, etc. — **Aventicum**: now Avenches, near the Lake of Morat; chief town of the Tigurini; cf. on 67 init. *olim.* — **concitorem**: cf. 4, 56 and *Ann.* 4, 28 *concitores belli.*

69. civitatis: i.e. Aventicum; cf. 54 init. — **verbis ac minis**: not necessarily hendiadys; Vitellius no doubt mingled reproaches with threats. — **temperabat**: here with dat. of that from which one refrains; cf. 3, 53 *sermonibus; Ann.* 13, 3 *risui;* 14, 37 *neci;* the class. constr. *a* and abl., above, 63 *ab excidio;* 2, 88 *ab innoxiis;* cf. on 2, 47 *felicitati.* — **cum**: cf. on 29 *cum adfertur.* — **notae facundiae**: for the gen. qual. connected directly with the name, cf. 4, 15 *stolidae audaciae Brinno, claritate natalium insigni;* 49 *Valerius Festus, sumptuosae adulescentiae.* In this Tac. followed Livy; e.g. 4, 41, 12; 21, 1, 4; 22, 60, 5. Isolated examples occur in Nepos and Caes. (e.g. *B.G.* 5, 35, 7). For the

abl. qual. so used, cf. on 52 *equestri familia.* — **ut est mos**: cf. 7 fin. *ut est mos vulgi;* 80 *vulgus, ut mos est;* *Ann.* 1, 39 *utque mos vulgo.* — **subitis**: cf. on 7 *subitis.* — **effusis**: cf. 2, 45 *in lacrimas effusi.* — **inpetravere**: distance from the collective subj. *vulgus,* accounts for the plural.

70. Vitellii: he may have reached Trèves by this time. For his journey down the Saône and arrival at Lyons (April) cf. 2, 59. — **alam Silianam**: cf. 2, 17 on their reasons; this *ala* may have owed its name to C. Silius, governor of Upper Germany under Tiberius (*Ann.* 1, 31); it was in Pannonia under Domitian, in Dacia in the time of Trajan. — **pro consule**: Africa was a senatorial province of the first rank, governed by an ex-consul. — **Vitellium**: cf. on 9. — **in Aegyptum**: on Nero's plans cf. on 31 fin. — **Vindicis**: cf. 51 init. — **revocati**: cf. 9 *excitae a Nerone legiones.* — **decurionum**: commanders of the *turmae,* — 30 men and more — in the *ala* or *centuria equitata.* — **obstricti** = *under obligations, attached;* cf. 2, 37 fin.; *Ann.* 14, 7 *praetorianos toti Caesarum domui obstrictos.* — **Germanici exercitus**: added for rhetorical reasons, partly emphasis, partly symmetry, — the Latin love of balanced phrases; cf. 2, 21 *legionum et Germanici exercitus robur.* — **principi**: with *donum* (cf. 3, 61 *donum victori*; 5, 22 fin. *donum Velaedae*), but also vaguely felt with *adiunxere.* — **transpadanae**: Augustus' XIth region of Italy, reaching as far east as Lake Como and its outlet the Adda (Addua). — **Mediolanum** = Milan; the other towns, now Novara, Ivrea, Vercelli, were the first three stations on the highroad from Milan to Aosta and the Great and Little St. Bernard passes (cf. on 61). — **ipsos**: i.e. *legati* of the towns, accompanying messengers sent by the Siliani; cf. *Germ.* 2 *ipsos Germanos; Agr.* 13 *ipsi Britanni.* — **Italiae pars**: i.e. the whole country north of the Po; for between the XIth region and the Xth (Venetia) there was no boundary that could assume military importance. — **Lusitanorum**, etc.: cf. on 13 *Lusitaniam;* various cohorts of Lusitanians and Britons are known from inscriptions. — **vexillis**: i.e. cavalry, each *ala* having its own *vexillum;* cf. on 31 *vexilla;* 2, 11 *equitum vexilla.* — **ala Petriana**: owed its name perhaps to the T. Pomponius Petra of *Ann.* 11, 4, in the time of Tiberius. Mainz seems to have been its present station; in Britain after the Civil War; at the Wall of

Hadrian down to the end of the third century. — **cunctatus est**: with the constr. of *dubitare = deliberate;* only here in Tac. — **num**: introducing that alternative which one at first inclines to prefer; cf. 2, 83 *ambiguus consilii, num,* etc. — **Raeticis iugis**: i.e. from the Rhine valley above the Lake of Constance over into the upper valley of the Inn. — **Noricum**: cf. on 11 *Noricum.* — **flecteret**: for the absol. use cf. 2, 70 *Cremonam flexit.* — **Petronius Urbicus**: he appears as *proc(urator) August(i)* on an inscr. at Klagenfurt, *CIL.* III, Suppl. 11551. — **procuratorem**: cf. on 2 *procurationes.* — **alasque**: i.e. the *Germanorum vexilla* and *ala Petriana.* — **foret** = *esset;* cf. 49 *forent.* — **cessuros**: cf. 11 fin. *in pretium belli cessurae erant.* — **Poenino**: cf. on 61 *Poeninis iugis.* — **subsignanum militem**: i.e. legionaries, with the standards of their maniples, and the eagle of the XXIst (61 fin.); cf. 4, 33 *subsignano milite.* — **et**: explanatory = *id est;* in English the second member would naturally take the form of a mere appositive to the first. The unnecessary fullness of speech (cf. on *Germanici exercitus,* above) adds to the impression of a heavy column with baggage, in contrast to the light-armed advance guard. — **legionum**: a generic use of the plural, where one complete legion (cf. 61) is mentioned along with detachments of others; so also 2, 22, 25.

71–90. Otho as emperor. Having arranged his affairs at Rome in the midst of various alarms, he finally sets out to meet the armies of Vitellius.

71. **Otho**: by a tactful change of scene Tac. recalls his readers from the Vitellian armies in the Alps, and the impending invasion of Italy, to Rome and the new government of Otho. — **non . . . torpescere**: in contrast with his rival, — *torpebat Vitellius,* 62. — **dilatae voluptates**, etc.: cf. Intr. 23. — **reditura**: i.e. which might be expected to return; cf. 27 fin. *sumpturi.* — **Marius Celsus**: cf. on 14. — **speciem**, etc.: cf. 58 *simulatione vinculorum.* — **titulus**: with the figure of a eulogistic inscription, for the reputation itself; cf. 75 fin. *clementiae gloriam.* — **fidei crimen**: sarcastic, as 59 *damnatos fidei crimine.* — **ultro**: cf. on 7 *ultro.* — **imputavit**: i.e. he went so far (*ultro*) as to set it down to his own credit, as an example of fidelity; cf. on 38 *mihi plurimum inputet;* 2, 60 *proditionem ultro inputabant.* — **nec**: to be joined with *ignosceret;*

cf. 34 init. — **testes . . . adhibens:** cf. 14 *adhibitoque . . . Mario Celso; Ann.* 15, 14 *testis iis quae pepigissent adhibetur.* — **inter . . . amicos:** for Celsus' consulship cf. 77; 2, 60. — **bello:** dat.; cf. on 22 *Othoni;* 88 *ministros bello.* — **inter duces:** cf. 87. — **fataliter:** cf. 50 *fataliter electos.* — **infelix:** he had soon to submit to Vitellius, 2, 60. — **in vulgus:** cf. 86 *fames in vulgus;* 2, 26 fin. *in vulgus.*

72. Tigellinus: cf. on 24. — **virilia scelera:** cruelty and avarice are regarded as *virilia scelera,* in contrast with the effeminate immorality, *vitia,* which had commended him to Nero; cf. *Ann.* 14, 51. For his cruelty cf. *tot interfectis,* below. — **desertor ac proditor:** cf. Intr. 14. — **diverso** = *opposite;* cf. 83 *diversis militum animis.* — **Vinii potentia:** cf. 13 init. — **filiam:** i.e. Crispina; cf. 47 fin.; her life must have been endangered by some *delator.* — **quippe:** with abl. abs. in place of the classical *quippe qui*-clause, a constr. which Tac. has but once (*Agr.* 18). — **effugium:** for the acc. apposition, cf. on 44 *munimentum;* Intr. 8; here more noteworthy as parallel to an abl. cause. — **pavens:** trans., cf. 29 *paveam.* — **vices impunitatis** = *mutual immunity;* the thought springs over from cause to effect desired (and produced). — **fora:** north of the Forum Romanum there were at this time the Forum Iulium and Forum Augustum; near the Tiber were the older Forum Boarium and Forum Holitorium. — **Sinuessanas aquas:** medicinal springs at Sinuessa, on the Appian Way, beneath the Mons Massicus, on the border between Latium and Campania, — now Mondragone; cf. *Ann.* 12, 66; Liv. 22, 13, 10; Mart. 6, 42; Plin. *N.H.* 31, 8. — **supremae necessitatis:** euphemism; cf. 3 *supremae . . . necessitates.*

73. Calvia Crispinilla: prominent among those who used the favor of Nero for plunder; Dio 63, 12. — **frustrationibus:** circumst. abl.; so also *adversa . . . fama.* — **dissimulantis:** cf. 26 *dissimulatio;* but here it is a studied indifference, wilful blindness; cf. 2, 29 fin. — **magistra libidinum:** as Petronius was Nero's *elegantiae arbiter,* and Tigellinus prided himself on his *scientia voluptatum; Ann.* 16, 18. — **transgressa:** after Nero's death, fearing the vengeance of Galba. — **Clodius Macer:** cf. on 7. — **famem:** by preventing the exportation of grain from Africa, to the embarrassment of Galba's government; cf. 3, 48 on Egypt and

Africa as *annonae subsidia.* — **matrimonio:** her husband is unknown. Tac. disdains to mention him. — **orbitate:** i.e. she received many attentions from the will-hunters (*captatores*). — **bonis:** even in Augustus' time, and in spite of his rigorous legislation, there were great advantages in having no heirs; cf. *Ann.* 3, 25 *praevalida orbitate.* — **malisque:** for Nero's time cf. *Ann.* 15, 19, where the *orbi* get everything *multa securitate, nullis oneribus.* For the epigram cf. Intr. 27.

74. muliebribus: i.e. such as appeal to the effeminate; cf. 75 *ut bello impares.* — **ab Othone ad Vitellium:** prep. phrases in the attributive position, as in Greek; cf. 76 *primus . . . ex Illyrico nuntius;* 4, 86 *occultis ad Cerialem nuntiis; Ann.* 13, 9 *ad Vologaesen regem nuntiis.* — **offerebant:** under conditions so obvious that they are left unexpressed; cf. 3, 63, the offer made in Vespasian's name to Vitellius, *si positis armis seque ac liberos suos Vespasiano permisisset.* — **quietis locis:** such e.g. as Baiae; cf. 3, l.c. *secreta Campaniae;* 66 *beatos Campaniae sinus.* — **mollius:** grammatically with *ostentabat,* but in thought applying also to Otho, as *utrimque* shows. — **in vicem:** for the class. *inter se,* as 75 *in vicem gnaris;* 2, 47 *experti in vicem sumus; Agr.* 37 *vitabundi in vicem.* — **miserat:** cf. 19. — **Italicam:** cf. on 59 *Italica.* — **specie:** i.e. he pretends to write in the name of the senate. — **officii:** i.e. *escort;* but the real motive was that these praetorians might influence the soldiers of Vitellius. — **ultro:** cf. on 7 *ultro.* — **tanto:** in actual fact Vitellius' precedence amounted to 13 days (12 for the upper province); cf. 55–57. — **vertissent:** Tac. seeks novelty by avoiding the usual verb, *deferre.*

75. ut: introduces the subjective reason: each felt that he was *bello impar;* cf. 8 *tanquam . . . fovissent.* — **neque** = *neque tamen.* — **sed:** one would expect *sed et* = *moreover,* as often in Tac. (cf. *Germ.* 17 *sed et proxima pars pectoris patet*). — **frustra:** regular use of the adv. as pred. to *esse* in the phrase *frustra est;* so *contra,* 2, 97 fin., *aliter,* etc. — **fallentibus** = *escaping notice.* — **in vicem:** cf. on 74 *in vicem.* — **L. Salvius Otho Titianus:** Otho's older brother, was cos. ord. in 52; cos. suff. 69 (cf. 77); proconsul Asiae 63–64, with Agricola as his quaestor (*Agr.* 6); cf. 1, 90 fin.; 2, 23, etc., esp. 60. — **filio:** i.e. Salvius Cocceianus; cf. 2, 48. — **incolumes:** cf. 2, 1 *incolumi . . . Galba.* — **mater:** Sextilia, an

old-fashioned Roman matron (*antiqui moris*, 2, 64); received the title Augusta from her son, 2, 89; died, *fessa aetate*, a few days before his fall, 3, 67. — **liberi**: both by his second wife, Galeria Fundana, viz. — (1) a son, whom the father paraded as Germanicus, 2, 59; put to death by Mucianus, 4, 80; cf. 3, 66; (2) a daughter, betrothed to Valerius Asiaticus; cf. on 59 *generum*. — **incertum an** = *perhaps;* cf. on 23 init.

76. ex Illyrico nuntius: cf. on 74 *ab Othone;* on Illyricum and the legions there, cf. on 2, and on 9 *Illyrico*. — **in eum**: condensed from the usual *in verba eius*. — **Moesia**: cf. on 79 init. — **Hispania**: for the legions of Spain cf. on 8 *Hispaniae*. — **Cluvius Rufus**: cf. on 8. — **Aquitania**: an imperial province of the second (praetorian) class; besides the southwest it also included a large part of central France, south and west of the Loire (Liger); chief cities, Burdigăla (Bordeaux) and Avaricum (Bourges). — **quanquam**: cf. on 43 *quanquam*. — **Q. Iulius Cordus**: inscriptions show that he was proconsul of Cyprus in the time of Claudius; *CIG*. 2631, 2632. — **mansit**: sc. *in fide*. — **huc illuc**: even Cicero has this asyndeton once (*ad Att*. 9, 9, 2 fin.); frequent in Tac.; cf. 3, 3, 73; but *huc atque illuc, Agr*. 10 fin. — **Narbonensem**: cf. on 48 *Gallia Narbonensis*. — **dirimitur**: i.e. from Italy; cf. 2, 6 *quidquid castrorum Armeniis praetenditur;* ib., *quantum insularum mari cingitur*. — **sed erat**: the real reason is given in an independent clause; similar abrupt change of form with *primum . . . deinde*, cf. on 2, 5 *dein.;* cf. also on 1, 18 *seu . . . non vitantur*. — **grande momentum**: cf. 59 *grande momentum sociae aut adversae*. — **praetexto**: cf. 19 *maiore praetextu;* as the *nomen urbis* may be conjured with, so, at a respectful distance, the senate wears a halo; cf. Otho's argument, 84 fin. — **prior auditus**: sc. *Otho;* he had preëmpted their affections by the mere fact that they had heard about him first. For the use of the verb cf. on 30 *audita est;* on the ptcp. cf. 2 *omissi gestique honores; auditus* differs from most of the ptcpp. so used in the fact that it can carry a predicate (*prior*); Livy 6, 2, 9 *tantum Camillus auditus imperator terroris intulerat;* Intr. 11. — **Iudaicum exercitum**: cf. on 10 *legionibus*. — **Syriae legiones**: cf. on 10 init. *legiones*. — **adegere**: cf. 55 *sacramento pro Galba adactae;* for the fact cf. 2, 6 init.; for the plur. on 48 *interfecerant*. — **C. Vipstanus Apronianus**:

cos. ord. 59 with Fonteius Capito (7); mentioned often in the *acta* of the Arvals; died 86. — **partem . . . rei publicae**: i.e. they play a political rôle; cf. *Germ.* 13 *ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox rei publicae* (speaking of the German youth). On the influential position of freedmen cf. on 58 *ministeria; Ann.* 14, 39 (Polyclitus sent as special agent to Britain). — **pleraque . . . festinavit**: the trans. use of *festinare* begins in prose with Sall. (e.g. *Iug.* 73, 1 *cuncta parat festinatque*); cf. 2, 57 *festinatis . . . dilectibus;* 82 *festinabantur.* — **sine modo**: cf. 52 *sine modo, sine iudicio.*

77. in multa pace: so in 3, 71; 4, 35 *velut multa pace;* Cicero's expression was *summa in pace, Verr.* 2, 159. — **quaedam . . . pleraque**: further objects of *obibat,* while *properando* is absolutely used, — *making unseemly haste, with unseemly haste;* on the abl. ger. of manner (freq. in Livy) cf. 23 *appellando . . . inserendo.* — **consul**: from the 26th Jan. to 1st March, after an interim of eleven days following the death of Galba and Vinius on the 15th. — **Verginius**: cf. 8 fin., 53 fin. — **L. Pompeius Vopiscus**: named in the Arval inscriptions; he must have been a native of Vienne, or otherwise closely linked with that city. — **Viennensium**: cf. 65. — **honori**: for *honori* alone cf. 44 fin.; with *dare, Ann.* 13, 49 fin. *patrum honori dare.* — **ceteri consulatus**: in these Otho made no change; they were to have been held for four months each, and so would have filled out the year. But Vitellius reduced their terms to two months, to make room for his generals, Valens and Caecina, 1st Sept.–1st Nov., while the remainder of the year was assigned to Quinctius Atticus and Caecilius Simplex; cf. 2, 71; 2, 60; 3, 68, 73. Caecina was deposed on the last day of his term (31st Oct.), and Rosius Regulus took his place for that one day; cf. 3, 37. — **Cn. Arulenus Caelius Sabinus**: a well-known jurist in the time of Vespasian; cf. *Dig.* 1, 2, 2, 53. — **Flavius Sabinus**: cos. II in 72 with Mucianus; cf. 2, 36, 51; not to be confused with Vespasian's brother Flavius Sabinus. Had he been related, Tac. could scarcely have failed to mention it. — **Iulias**: for *kalendas Iulias.* — **T. Arrius Antoninus**: maternal grandfather of the emperor Antoninus Pius. Pliny writes letters to him, one of them beginning *Quod semel atque iterum consul fuisti similis antiquis, quod proconsul Asiae,* etc. — the prelude to extravagant praises of Arrius' Greek verses (*Ep.* 4, 3). — **Marius Celsus**: cf.

on 14. — **honoribus**: cf. on *ceteri consulatus*, above. — **pontificatus auguratusque**: regularly bestowed by the senate, upon nomination by the emperor. Consular rank was usually a necessary condition; cf. *Agr.* 9 fin. *adiecto pontificatus sacerdotio.* — **honoratis** = *honoribus perfunctis.* — **recens**: the unclassical adv. *recens;* found, however, even in Plaut., Sall., Livy, always with perf. ptcp. until the *Annals*, where Tac. uses it also with an adj. with verbal force, e.g. 12, 63 fin. *recens fessos.* — **in solacium** = *as a compensation*, cf. on 12 *in . . . odium*, and on the sense 2, 59 fin. — **C. Cadius Rufus**: proconsul of Bithynia and Pontus in the time of Claudius (before 48), and in 49 *damnatus . . . lege repetundarum . . . accusantibus Bithynis; Ann.* 12, 22 fin. His name appears on coins of Nicaea. — **Pedius Blaesus**: proconsul of Crete and Cyrene; accused by the Cyrenians of corrupt practices and temple robbery, he was ejected from the senate in 59; *Ann.* 14, 18. — **Scaevinius Propinquus**: the cognomen remains doubtful owing to a corrupt abbreviation in the Laurentian Ms. No other Scaevinius Propinquus is known. Proculus, Priscus, Porcius, and other conjectures have been made. — **ceciderant**: for the figure cf. 4, 6 *si caderet Marcellus, agmen reorum sternebatur.* — **maiestatem**: the full expression was *crimen laesae maiestatis.* The vagueness of the law against treason had been turned to such account by the informers (*delatores*) that trials on this charge became intensely unpopular. Hence the pretence that these men had been victims of *maiestas* won them popular favor. — **bonae leges**: i.e. against fraud, etc., of which they had really been guilty.

78. Hispalis: Seville, a colony of Julius Caesar in the senatorial province of Baetica (cf. on 53 *Baetica*). — **Emerita**: Augusta Emerita, now Merida, in the imperial province of Lusitania (cf. on 13 *Lusitaniam*); a colony of Augustus, 25 B.C., and residence of the governor; Otho had thus a personal interest in Emerita. — **familiarum adiectiones**: this would mean the *adscriptio novorum colonorum*, to increase the population of these colonies; cf. Livy, 35, 9, 8. In both cases Otho took the step before receiving news of the defection of Spain. — **Lingonibus**: Otho could not have heard yet of their decision to support Vitellius; cf. 64. — **Maurorum civitates**: towns on the opposite coast of Africa, Tingi (Tangier) and others; this also before Spain went over to Vitel-

lius. — **ostentata**, etc.: i.e. hardly granted before they were taken away by Vitellius. — **mansura**: cf. on 27 fin. *sumpturi*. — **inter quae . . . excusata**: except here, *inter quae* is a formula in Tac. (= *interea*), e.g. 4, 46, 49. — **Poppaea**: cf. on 13 *Poppaea*. — **creditus est**: cf. on 50 *crederetur*. — **tanquam**, etc.: their actual belief; cf. on 8 *tanquam . . . fovissent*. — **Neroni**: dat. with *adclamavit*, instead of quoting the exclamation exactly; cf. Suet. *Otho* 7 *ab infima plebe appellatus Nero*. — **in suspenso tenuit**: cf. id. ib. *nullum indicium recusantis dedit*. According to Cluvius Rufus he used "Nero Otho" on diplomata sent to Spain; cf. Plut. *Otho* 3; Suet. l.c.

79. sine cura habebantur = *were neglected;* cf. *Ann.* 11, 8 *sine cura haberi*. — **Rhoxolani**: a powerful Sarmatian people north of the Crimea. — **priore hieme**: with *caesis* only. — **Moesia**: corresponded very nearly to Servia and Bulgaria, with the Danube for its northern boundary, and extending to the Black Sea. — **ferocia et successu**: may be taken as hendiadys, but as they had *ferocia* before, it is better to class this with such examples as *ira et victoria, Agr.* 16, where also a subjective element of longer standing is intensified by pairing it with the objective of recent occurrence. — **tertia legio**: temporarily stationed in Moesia, by transfer from Syria about the end of Nero's reign; cf. on 9 *Illyrico;* 10 *legiones;* Suet. *Vesp.* 6. — **lubrico itinerum**: for the part. gen. with a neut. subst. having no idea of quantity cf. *Ann.* 1, 65 *lubrico paludum;* 1, 61 *umido paludum; Hist.* 2, 88 *lubrico viae*. — **mirum**: pred.; the subj. is the ind. quest., *ut*, etc. — **ad**: i.e. *when it comes to, in case of;* cf. 2, 97 *ad obsequium;* 3, 33 *viles ad praedam*. — **die**: i.e. *weather;* cf. 86 *sereno et immoto die*. — **quos praelongos** = *which, on account of their length;* for obvious reasons the adj. is included in the relative clause. — **usui**: for the omission of *erant* with a dat. (not of a person) cf. 4, 17 *clara ea victoria in praesens, in posterum usui; Ann* 12, 11 *neque usui crebras mutationes*. — **catafractarum**: the καταφράκτης, as explained below, was a suit of scale armor. Trajan, on whose column men and horses so equipped are represented, had *catafractarii* as auxiliaries; under Hadrian they found a regular place in the Roman army. — **nobilissimo cuique**: Tac. no doubt has in mind something like the *comitatus* of the German chiefs (*Germ.*

13). — **ut . . . ita**; cf. on 4 *ut . . . ita.* — **inhabile**: cf. *Ann.* 3, 43 *inferendis ictibus inhabiles.* — **facilis** = *expeditus*, or *agilis;* for the phrase cf. *Germ.* 6 *sagulo leves.* — **lanceis**: probably carried by auxiliary troops only. — **posceret**: cf. on 10 *vacaret.* — **defendi**: middle sense; so also *abderentur;* cf. 81 *dispergi, detegi.* — **fodiebat**: for *transfodiebat;* Intr. 17. — **saevitia hiemis**: cf. 4, 38 *saevitia hiemis; saeva vulnera* is cited from Ovid *Met.* 7, 849, and from *Priap.* 11, 2. — **M. Aponius Saturninus**: cos. suff. under Nero (year unknown). Later on, under Vespasian, he was procos. of Asia (an inscr. found in Phrygia, and pub. in *Amer. Journ. Archaeol.* I, 1st ser., 148); cf. 2, 85, 96; 3, 5, 9 ff. — **T. Fulvus Aurelius**: cos. ord. 85 with Domitian, and again later (date uncertain), and *praef. urbi* (do.); paternal grandfather of Antoninus Pius (cp. on 77 *Arrio Antonino*); he was now commander of the IIId legion *Gallica,* — himself of Gallic birth (Nemausus = Nîmes). — **Tettius Iulianus**: cos. suff. 83; probably the same Julianus who in 86 led a successful campaign into the heart of Dacia. At present he commanded the VIIth *Claudiana;* cf. 2, 85; his praetorship, 4, 39–40. — **Numisius Lupus**: commander of the VIIIth *Augusta;* cf. 3, 10. — **felix bello**: sc. *fuisset;* cf. on 21 *fluxa.* — **suis ducibus**: abl. means; generals are mere instruments in the hands of an emperor. Cf. on 50 *exercitibus.*

80. unde: i.e. from the praetorians, of whose loyalty Otho felt most confident. — **septumam decumam**: on this cohort cf. on 64 *duodevicensimam.* — **armandae**: the arsenal of the praetorians served also for the *cohortes urbanae,* and other troops in the vicinity of the city; cf. on 38 *armamentarium.* — **vacuus** = *at his ease.* — **causa in crimen**: i.e. the reason assigned (the arming of coh. XVII) was distorted into a charge; cf. below *tanquam familiae,* etc. — **evaluit**: zeugma. — **visa . . . arma** = *the sight of arms;* cf. on 76 *prior auditus;* Intr. 11. — **tanquam**: i.e. *in the belief that;* cf. on 8 *tanquam . . . fovissent.* — **in occasionem**: cf. *in spem,* 4, 42 and *Agr.* 24; *in occasionem, Agr.* l.c. — **ut mos est**: cf. 69 *ut est mos, vulgus,* etc. — **motus novi**: cf. 22 *novos motus.* — **nox**: personified; cf. 4, 36 *pudorem nox ademerat.* — **abstulerat**: of that which has been made utterly impossible; cf. 3, 84 fin. *misericordiam abstulerat.* — **insidentes equis**: cf. 40 *rapidi equis;* each praetorian cohort had but a single *turma* of cavalry (24 men), so

that in this mutiny comparatively few could have found horses.

81. **celebre**: with abl., as a word denoting fullness. — **primoribus**: of the senatorial order, of course; cf. below, *discrimine senatus.* — **dispergi . . . detegi**: middle sense; cf. 79 *defendi* and *abderentur.* — **timeret . . . timebatur**: paronomasia; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 105, 4 *qui timetur timet; Oed.* 706 *timet timentes.* — **praefectos**: they had been appointed by the praetorians themselves, 46; cf. 82. — **comitum**: i.e. their clients. — **diversa** = *devia.* — **rari** = *pauci;* cf. 2, 84 fin. *rarissimus quisque.* — **incertas** = *ignotas;* cf. *Ann.* 3, 42 fin. *incertis latebris.*

82. **convivium**: by meton. the dinner is put for the dining-room, *triclinium.* — **inrumperent**: on the acc. constr. cf. on 40 *irrumpunt.* — **tribuno**: cf. 28 *Iulius Martialis tribunus* (of a praetorian cohort). — **praefecto legionis**: in the absence of a *legatus,* the regular commander of a legion, his place was taken by the *praefectus castrorum* (cf. on 2, 26); cf. *Ann.* 14, 37 *Poenius Postumius, praefectus castrorum secundae legionis* (temporarily in command). It is probable that this new legion, formed by Nero out of marines, and hence known at first as I *Classica,* had not yet received a *legatus;* cf. on 6 *e classe.* — **lymphatis**: cf. *Ann.* 1, 32 *repente lymphati destrictis gladiis in centuriones invadunt.* — **neminem unum**: cf. 6 fin. *in unum aliquem;* so in Caes. *B.C.* 3, 18, 2 *eo mortuo ad neminem unum summa imperii redit; Ann.* 14, 45 *nemo unus contra ire ausus est.* — **poscentibus**: the subj. to be supplied from above; cf. 4, 25 fin. *poscentibus;* 27 *minitantibus.* — **neque innocentes**: not without such disorder as alarmed the citizens. — **populus . . . plebs**: as 35 init.; 76 fin. *plebi . . . populus.* — **nummum**: i.e. *sesterti(or)um;* by the gold standard of the empire the sum amounts to about $260. — **tum** = *tum demum,* as in 66, with the same sarcastic turn. — **insignibus**: the *insignia* which they threw down were no doubt the gold ring of the tribune, and the *vitis,* rod (cut from a vine) of the centurion. — **otium**: i.e. discharge; no one wished to command mutinous troops. — **invidiam** = *slur, discredit.* — **ultro**: cf. on 7 *ultro.*

83. **quanquam**: unclassical use with the circumstantial abl.; cf. 4, 18 *quanquam rebus trepidis;* 2, 39 *quanquam verno tempore anni;* with prep. phrase 2, 3 fin.; with adj. simply, 2, 68 *quanquam . . . pavidus.* Cf. 2, 73 *etsi* (with abl. abs.). — **turbidis**

rebus: cf. 31 init. — **diversis:** explained by the following *cum*-clauses. — **remedium:** cf. 14. — **et plures** = *that is, the majority; et* explanatory, as in 25 *et ceteros;* cf. on 39 *plures.* — **ambitioso:** the *ambitio* meant is that of the commander who courts popularity with his subordinates; cf. 2, 12 *ambitioso imperio regebat;* on 1, 12 *ambitiosis.* — **raptus:** cf. on 46 *latrocinia,* etc. — **modestia** = *discipline;* cf. on 60 *modestia.* — **supersunt:** cf. 51 *supererant.* — **veni:** transferred from its proper position with the *neque ut*-clauses to the second and affirmative member of the sentence, as of more consequence; cf. *Ann.* 6, 29 *nihil hunc amicitia Seiani, sed labefecit . . . Macronis odium.* Such freedom of disposition suggests Horace. — **ne . . . quidem** = *also not;* cf. 29 fin. — **aut** = *and;* the regular use of *aut* instead of *et* in continuing the negative (also in questions implying a negative); cf. 88 *metu aut periculo.* — **nimia pietas:** adversative asyndeton; cf. on 29 *patris;* 2, 3 fin., 12 med. — **pietas:** the relation of soldier to general was comparable to that of son to father (and conversely); cf. 2, 69 *pietatem militum.* — **considerate:** the classical rule would require *consideratius* after *acrius quam;* so 2, 24 *consultius;* 4, 40 *honestius;* 65 *cautius;* but *Agr.* 4 fin. *caute.* — **rerum causas** = *motives.* — **adhibeas:** cf. on 1 *averseris.* — **ratio rerum** = *the logic of the situation.* — **occasionum:** i.e. required by an opportunity. — **ita se . . . habet,** etc. = *such is the nature of,* etc.; on the general sense cf. 3, 20 *sed divisa inter exercitum ducesque munia,* etc. — **liceat . . . intercidet:** the certainty of an undesirable consequence is marked by the fut. ind. in apodosis; cf. 84 *optabunt.* The Ms. *intercidit* would be a weak use of the present of general truth. — **illic:** i.e. in the field. — **unus alterve:** *one or two, two or three,* — the indefinite small number; cf. *Agr.* 40 fin. *uno aut altero amicorum comitatus; Dial.* 9 *intra unum aut alterum diem; Ann.* 3, 47 *si una alterave civitas turbet.* — **plures:** he actually punished but two; cf. 85. — **consternatione:** cf. 2, 49 *consternatione ac licentia militum.* — **crediderim:** for the potential cf. 2, 50, and *Germ.* 45 *crediderim; Ann.* 4, 67; *Hist.* 2, 37 *concesserim;* cf. on 1 *abnuerim.*

84. istud: cf. on 65 *crebrius infestiusque;* ellipsis heightens the antithesis *pro me . . . adversus me.* — **si . . . detur:** cf. on 83 *liceat,* etc. — **satellitibus:** contemptuous; cf. 4, 58 *vobis satel-*

litibus Civilem et Classicum Italiam invasuros. — **discordiam:** cf. 3, 10 *hostium potius exercitibus illum furorem, illam discordiam inicerent, orabat.* — **ne . . . ne . . . ut:** continuing the supposed wish of the enemy, as an amplification of *seditionem et discordiam.* — **res militares:** for the more usual singular. — **duorum:** cf. 85 **init.** — **nec** = *neve;* as in 2, 47 (two examples); 76 *nec speciem adulantis expaveris; Dial.* 32 *nec quisquam respondeat,* etc. — **caput imperii:** that the senate was really the *caput imperii,* none of Otho's hearers would have been blind enough to suppose. — **decora:** concrete; each senator is a *decus;* cf. 2, 81 fin., *e Iudaico exercitu lecta decora* (i.e. *élite*). — **provinciarum:** since provincials rose through local offices into the senate. — **cum maxime:** cf. on 29 *cum maxime.* — **Germani:** i.e. auxiliaries, regularly serving in the Roman army. — **audeant:** potential; cf. *depoposcerint,* below. — **Italiae alumni:** since praetorians and *cohortes urbanae* were recruited in Italy; in 2, 21 fin. they scorn the legionaries as *peregrini* and *externi.* — **obscuritatem:** i.e. of birth. — **occupavit:** cf. on 39 *occupanda.* — **promisca:** this rare form of the word is found also in *Ann.* 1, 48; 4, 16; once in Livy (5, 13, 7 Mss.); the use of the plur. personal constr. is a Graecism for *promiscum est.* — **rerum:** i.e. *rule, power, the empire;* cf. 29 fin. *res sine discordia translatas.* — **auspicato:** one of the few words in which the impers. abl. abs. had appeared even in Cicero; Tac., following Livy, has many in the *Annals,* a few in the *Hist.;* cf. 2, 49 and 3, 20 *explorato;* 3, 72 *auspicato;* 4, 36 *comperto.*

85. ad perstringendos, etc.: not satisfied with a very free use of gerundive phrases with adjj. (e.g. *aptus, idoneus, facilis, opportunus,* etc.), Tac. goes a step further and, omitting such adj., joins the phrase attributively to a noun; cf. 3, 70 *domum inminentem foro et inritandis hominum oculis;* in Cic. limited to nouns of agency, such as *auctor,* or *dux.* But Cic. and Caes. have gen. gerund with nouns, to indicate the design of a thing. — **ad praesens:** as in 44 fin.; but 2, 4 *in praesens.* — **ut . . . ita:** cf. on 4 *ut . . . ita.* — **in commune:** cf. on 25 fin. — **occulto habitu** = *in disguise;* cf. 4, 36 fin. *servili habitu . . . ignoratus.* — **cura** = *interest, curiosity.* — **aliqua:** the generalizing use of *aliquis* (*in short any, any other*). — **secreta domuum** = *the privacy of the home;* cf. on 10 *occulta fati;* 3, 63 *secreta Campaniae* (not part.

gen.). — **adtulisset**: cf. on 10 *vacaret.* — **animum vultumque**: Greek accusative; cf. 4, 20 *frontem tergaque ac latus tuti; Germ.* 17 *nudae brachia ac lacertos.* — **conversis**: abl. abs. with indefinite subj.; cf. 4, 1 *passim trucidatis, ut quemque fors obtulerat;* cf. on 27 *requirentibus.* — **dubiis**: *dubia* takes the place of the classical *dubiae res;* and so *prospera.* — **arduus** = *very difficult, almost impossible;* cf. 2, 58 *neque arduum fuit;* 76 *aut certe non arduum sit;* 82 fin. *nihil arduum fatis.* — **ne . . . silentium**: only here and *Ann.* 1, 7 (*ne laeti excessu principis*) does Tac. allow himself the liberty of constructing a fearing clause without a verb, whereas in ind. quest. ellipsis of *esset* and *sit* was frequent; cf. on 21 *fluxa;* 2, 23 *acta.* — **nuper**: under Galba, rather than Nero, in view of Otho's long absence in Lusitania. — **hostem et parricidam**: the reproach heaped upon Catiline by his colleagues in the senate, Sall. *Cat.* 31, 8; cf. *Ann.* 15, 73 (of Seneca's brother, Gallio). — **parricidam** = *traitor.*

86. vestibulo: not of the temple, but the entrance to the Area Capitolina, or the Area itself. — **bigae**: gen.; the singular belongs to silver Latin; *quadriga*, singular, had more classical authority. **Victoria**: for another portent from a Victory cf. *Ann.* 14, 32 (at Camulodunum in Britain, — the revolt of Boadicea). — **cella**: for the simple abl. cf. 4, 34 *omnibus portis prorumpunt; Ann.* 13, 44 *cubiculoque prorumpit;* 12, 7 *erumperent curia.* — **Iunonis**: in the center was the *cella* of Jupiter, on either side those of Juno and Minerva. — **humana**: cf. 5, 13 *maior humanā vox;* with *quam,* 4, 83 *maiore quam humanā specie.* — **Tiberini amnis**: the usual formula in religious language, derived from the worship of *pater Tiberinus,* Livy 2, 10, 11; 1, 3, 8. — **immoto**: Plutarch understood this to refer to the absence of an earthquake (*Otho* 4), but Pliny has *serenus dies et inmotus* of calm weather (*Ep.* 2, 17, 16). — **die**: for *dies* of the weather cf. 79 *umido die.* — **in orientem**: this could only be interpreted as meaning Vespasian. — **observata**: cf. 18 *observatum.* — **in metu**: i.e. in times of danger; cf. 2, 12 *adversum metus.* — **audiuntur**: cf. 3, 58 *in metu consilia prudentium et vulgi rumor iuxta audiuntur;* and on the general thought 4, 26 *quod in pace fors seu natura, tunc fatum et ira deum vocabatur.* — **futuri**: sc. *exitii;* the gen. is loosely joined by *et* to *praecipuus* as another attributive. Their fear was not

merely of future floods, but also of the unknown danger portended by the present inundation. — **ponte sublicio**: the ancient wooden bridge, often rebuilt; the exact location is uncertain, but somewhere below the island, near the Forum Boarium. — **strage** = *wreckage*, i.e. of the bridge. — **refusus** = *dammed up;* cf. 5, 14 *cuius obiectu revolutus amnis*, etc.; and for a similar description, *Ann.* 1, 76 *continuis imbribus auctus Tiberis plana urbis stagnaverat; relabentem* (= *remeantem*) *secuta est aedificiorum et hominum strages.* — **sed**: for *sed etiam;* cf. 2, 19 fin. *non arma modo, sed obsequium*, etc.; *Ann.* 1, 60. — **secura . . . casuum**: Tac. follows Verg. in using a gen. with *securus;* cf. *Agr.* 43 *securus iam odii; Ann.* 3, 28 *potentiae securus.* — **rapti**, etc.: cf. Intr. 23. — **plerique**: cf. on 5 *plerisque.* — **plures**: here the true comparative; not as in 39 *plerique . . . plures.* — **in vulgus**: cf. 71 fin. — **insularum**: blocks of buildings of which the ground floor was let for shops, and the upper floors as dwellings; they were surrounded by streets, hence the name. In contrast the homes of the wealthy were *domus;* cf. *Ann.* 6, 45 *exsolutis domuum et insularum pretiis;* 15, 41 *domuum et insularum et templorum . . . numerum.* — **via Flaminia**: always the chief route for the north, crossing the Tiber at the Pons Mulvius (87) and again to the north of Mt. Soracte, then via Narnia, Mevania, Fulginium, through the Umbrian Apennines, down the Metaurus to Fanum, and along the coast to Ariminum; cf. 2, 64; 3, 79, 82. — **esset obstructum**: by attraction to the appositive *iter;* cf. 61 *data.* With the Campus Martius flooded, that part of the Flaminia nearest to the Ponte Molle (Milvio, cf. 87), and beyond, in the meadows of the Tiber, would be entirely under water. — **prodigium**: Suet. *Otho* 8 fin. adds another, — *ad vicensimum etiam lapidem ruina aedificiorum praeclusam viam offendit;* but this had nothing to do with the flood, for the twentieth milestone was some 270 metres above the sea, and about 6 m.p. back from the river (near Morlupo).

87. lustrata: the appearance of portents was regularly followed by ceremonies of expiation, to avert the supposed anger of the gods (cf. *procurare, expiare*); among other forms was the *lustratio*, involving an *amburbium*, a procession conducting the victims around the city, following the line of the *pomerium.* A

detailed description is given by Lucan 1, 592 ff. *Mox iubet et totam pavidis a civibus urbem | ambiri; et festo purgantes moenia lustro, | longa per extremos pomeria cingere fines | pontifices*, etc. Frequently mentioned in Livy after a list of prodigies, e.g. 21, 62, 7; 35, 9, 5; 39, 22, 4; *Ann.* 13, 24. — **Poeninae**, etc.: on the routes over the Great St. Bernard and Mt. Genèvre cf. on 61. — **Narbonensem**: cf. on 48 *Galliam Narbonensem;* 2, 12 ff. — **classe**: besides Misenum, the chief station of the fleet on the west coast of Italy, there was an important naval station at Forum Iulii (Fréjus, the birthplace of Agricola), on the coast of Gaul, where Augustus had constructed a war-harbor; cf. 2, 14 *in colonia Foroiuliensi.* — **reliquos caesorum**: instead of the usual phrase, *reliquias caedis;* cf. Livy 22, 56, 2; 41, 12, 9; 43, 10, 8; below, 90 init. — **caesorum**: cf. on *introitus* 6 med., 37. — **Mulvium**: cf. on 86 *esset obstructum;* 2, 89; 3, 82; four of its ancient arches still remain. — **numeros**: cf. on 6 *numeri;* they had been organized as centuries and maniples of a future legion. — **ceteris**: i.e. of the marines. — **honoratioris**: service in the fleet was always looked down upon both by legionaries and praetorians; hence it was a promotion to be admitted to the *legionaria militia* (3, 50). — **urbanas**: cf. on 20 *urbanis.* — **plerosque**: cf. on 5 *plerisque.* — **viris et robur**; cf. 2, 11 *plus virium ac roboris.* — **Antonius Novellus**: cf. 2, 12, otherwise unknown. — **T. Suedius Clemens**: cf. ib.; inscriptions at Pompeii and in Egypt show that he was later tribune (doubtless of praetorians), and in 79 *praefectus castrorum*, in Egypt, where there were no *legati*; *CIL.* X, 1018; III, 33. — **primipilaribus**: cf. on 31 *primipilaribus.* — **Aemilius Pacensis**: cf. on 20. — **immutatus**: a repetition of the thought of *retinebat*, but the form of the sentence is thereby improved. — **peditum**, etc.: in distinction from the troops assigned for the naval expedition; for the forces which marched from Rome to the plains of the Po, and the legions, etc., from Dalmatia and Pannonia, cf. 2, 11. The operations of the army of Suetonius, etc., were to have taken place also in Gall. Narb., or at least along the Alpine routes, but the promptness of Caecina compelled Otho to change his plans, and make the Po his front. — **C. Suetonius Paulinus**: one of the most eminent generals of the early empire; in 42 as *legatus* in Mauretania he fought the Mauri and was the first

Roman to cross the Atlas Mts.; cos. suff. prob. in 42; governor of Britain at the time of the revolt of Boadicea (61); cos. ord. II in 66; cf. 2, 32, 37, etc.; *Agr.* 14; *Ann.* 14, 29 ff; 16, 14; Plin. *N.H.* 5, 14; 1, 5; Dio 60, 9; 61, 7 ff. — **Marius Celsus**: cf. on 14. — **Annius Gallus**: cf. 2, 11, 23, 33, 44; *legatus* of Upper Germany in 70; cf. 4, 68; 5, 19. — **Licinius Proculus**: cf. 46. — **impiger**: with gen.; cf. *impiger militiae, Ann.* 3, 48; *acer militiae, Hist.* 2, 5; *strenuus militiae,* 3, 43. — **ut cuique erat**: Latin lacks a single word for *respectively.* — **facillimum factu**: cf. 2, 76 *promptum effectu.* — **bonos**: for the acc. cf. on 45 *proximos.*

88. sepositus = *interned;* cf. on 10 *sepositus.* — **Cn. Cornelius Dolabella**: probably son of P. Cornelius Dolabella, who was cos. 10 A.D., proc. Asiae, etc. His name was suggested to Galba for adoption, who accordingly regarded him as a rival; so also Vitellius, who caused his death; 2, 63 f.; Suet. *Galba* 12; Plut. *Galba* 23, *Otho* 5. — **colonia Aquinas** = Aquinum, now Aquino, on the Via Latina in southern Latium; birthplace of Juvenal and of S. Thomas Aquinas. — **neque obscura**: i.e. he suffered no indignity. — **propinquitate Galbae**: how he was related to Galba is unknown. — **monstratus**: i.e. kept before the public eye, prominent; cf. *Agr.* 13 fin. *et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.* — **bello**: on the dat. cf. 71 fin. *bello inter duces.* — **expedire** = *take the field;* cf. 10 *expedierat.* — **quis** = *quibus,* as often in Tac.; Cic. or Caes. would have said *in his.* — **L. Vitellius**: cos. suff. 48 (succeeding his brother); proc. Africae (also in succession to his brother), *ca.* 61–62; cf. 2, 54, 63; 3, 37 f., 55, 76 f.; 4, 2 fin. *dein L. Vitellius interficitur, par vitiis fratri, in principatu eius vigilantior.* — **eodem . . . cultu**: i.e. there was nothing to distinguish him from the rest of the *consulares* in the retinue of Otho; the circumst. abl. is loosely joined to *expedire.* — **motae . . . vacuus**, etc.: cf. Intr. 23. — **metu aut periculo**: hendiadys; but for the negative, the conj. would be *et;* cf. on 83 *aut.* — **quanto**: the *tanto* with *manifestius* is omitted; cf. 2, 78 *crebriores . . . quanto sperantibus plura dicuntur.* — **occultare et abdere**: on the synonyms cf. Intr. 14. — **quidam**: one expects either a separate sentence, added later, viz. *quidam . . . mercabantur,* or *quique . . . mercarentur.* — **apparatus conviviorum**: cf. the celebrated silver service of a Roman general in Germany, probably

of the time of Augustus, found in 1868 at Hildesheim, now at Berlin. — **irritamenta libidinum**: cf. 2, 62 *irritamenta gulae.* — **instrumentum**: collective, *outfit, equipment.* — **adflicta fide**: circumst. abl., or causal; cf. 3, 65 *adfectam eius fidem.* — **per incerta** = *incertis rebus*, for variety; cf. Intr. 13.

89. et = *namely, that is;* epexegetic use of the conj.; cf. *Agr.* 43 *vulgus quoque et hic aliud agens populus; Dial.* 7 fin. *vulgus . . . et tunicatus hic populus;* cf on 19 *ac.* — **magnitudine nimia**: in contrast with an earlier day, when the interests of the state were less complex; for the abl. cf. 28 *magnitudine subiti sceleris.* — **expers**: cf. 1 *inscitia rei publicae ut alienae;* 50 *non senatus modo et eques, quis aliqua pars et cura rei publicae, sed vulgus,* etc.; 2, 90 *vulgus . . . vacuum curis.* — **intentis** = *auctis;* cf. 12 fin., 24 *intendebat.* — **quae**: sc. *mala,* but meanwhile *mala* has been explained by *conversa . . . pretiis.* — **motu Vindicis**: for the temporal abl. cf. 48 *proconsulatu;* 2, 5 *exitu . . . Neronis;* 4, 69 *Vindicis motu.* — **perinde**: cf. 30 fin. *perinde . . . quam.* — **attriverant**: cf. 10 *attritis opibus;* 2, 56 *attritis Italiae rebus.* — **nam**: to account for the choice of the uprising under Vindex as a comparison. No mention of previous wars was necessary, *for* they did not seriously alarm any one. A recognized elliptical use of *nam* in the figure called *praeteritio.* — **res** = *rule* or *power;* cf. 84 fin. *aeternitas rerum.* — **pacis adversa**: e.g. the execution or exile of innocent victims of tyranny, the terrors of delation, etc. — **pertinuere**: cf. 30 fin. *ad nos scelerum exitus, bellorum ad vos pertinebunt.* — **L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus**: also known as Furius Camillus Scribonianus; cos. 32; he was probably a great-grandson of Pompey; as *legatus* of Dalmatia, he rebelled against Claudius, summoning him to abdicate. But the soldiers refused their support, and Scribonianus was assassinated; cf. 2, 75; Suet. *Claud.* 35; Dio 60, 15; Plin. *Ep.* 3, 16, 7 ff. — **coërcita**: cf. Suet. *Claud.* 13 *verum intra quintum diem oppressus est.* — **tum** = *but now.* — **urbanus miles**: i.e. the *cohortes urbanae;* cf. on 20 *urbanis.* — **a tergo** = *in reserve.* — **aliis**: i.e. *fortioribus* or *melioribus.* **longo**: cf. on 5 *longo.* — **moras . . . adferrent**: cf. *Ann.* 3, 46 *paulum morae attulere; Hist.* 4, 72 *moram victoribus attulerit;* 1, 39 and 2, 45 *haesitationem attulit.* — **religionemque** = *and scruples.* — **conditorum ancilium**: the twelve sacred shields were kept in the

curia Saliorum (*quae est in Palatio*, Cic. *de Div.* 1, 30), but during the month of March they were repeatedly carried in procession by the *Salii*, who performed solemn dances in armor. By the end of the month they were restored to their proper places (cf. *condere*); Livy 1, 20, 4; 37, 33, 6; *per.* 68; Suet. *Otho* 8. — **aspernatus**: the Roman reader, brought up on Livy, would see in this contempt of religious tradition a hint of impending disaster. — **ut**: i.e. in Otho's opinion. — **Caecina . . . transgressus**: i.e. *the fact that Caecina*, etc.; the objective fact in baldest form takes the place of the subjective impression; cf. Intr. 11.

90. pridie, etc.: this is the date of Otho's departure for the north. Suetonius (*Otho* 8) makes it the 24th, *die quo cultores deum Matris lamentari et plangere incipiunt* (it was called *dies sanguis*), but Tac. is more trustworthy. — **sectionum**: cf. 20 *sector;* property confiscated and ordered to be sold under Nero was restored by Otho to the owners, recalled from exile by Galba. But in most cases the *fiscus* had already received the proceeds of the auctions, so that Otho's apparently liberal gift was *usu sterile*. — **pro se**: with *consensum;* cf. 51 fin. *pertinaci pro Nerone fide*. — **modeste**: cf. *moderatio*, below. — **P. Galerius Trachalus**: cos. ord. 68; a celebrated advocate; as an orator he was distinguished by extraordinary vocal powers and delivery; Quint. 12, 5, 5 f. Vitellius spared him, as a relative (probably) of his wife Galeria, 2, 60 fin. — **credebatur**: here with the class. constr.; cf. on 50 *crederetur*. — **fori usu**: i.e. *practice in the courts*. — **latum** = *fluent;* yet other orators of the period were even *copiosiores* according to Quintilian, l.c. — **ex libidine servitii**: cf. 1 *libidine adsentandi*. — **ut**: cf. on 4 *ut erga principem*. — **privata cuique stimulatio**: cf. 19 *privatas spes agitantes sine publica cura;* 15 *sua cuique utilitas*. — **profectus**: 14th March; cf. on *pridie*, above. — **Titiano**: cf. on 75; 2, 23 fin. Plutarch in this context mentions only Flavius Sabinus, *praef. urbi* (*Otho* 5).

Book II

1–9. Affairs in the East; Titus, Vespasian, Mucianus, 1–7; a pretender Nero, 8–9.

1. diversa: as contrasted both with Italy (Otho), and with Gaul and Germany (Vitellius). — **imperio** = *dynasty*, i.e. of the three Flavian emperors; the dat. is with *initia causasque;* cf. on 1, 67 *initium bello.* — **varia sorte:** cf. 95 fin. *varia et pudenda sorte agebat.* — **laetum:** i.e. under the good rule of Vespasian and Titus. — **atrox:** under Domitian, who was assassinated (cf. *exitio*). — **vel:** correlated with *aut;* cf. 10 *potens vel inops . . . infirmum aut validum;* 68 *vel . . . aut;* 1, 19 fin. *aut . . . vel.* — **exitio:** for this form of variety cf. Intr. 13. — **Titus:** cf. on 1, 10. — **incolumi** = *alive;* cf. 1, 75 *incolumes.* — **patre:** for Vespasian cf. on 1, 10. — **officium:** Titus' errand was mentioned 1, 10 fin. (*ad venerationem cultumque eius,* sc. *Galbae*). — **maturam:** he was nearly thirty. — **honoribus:** he had been quaestor, and was now *legatus legionis,* an appointment usually given only to those who had been praetors. — **ferebat** = *praeferebat;* cf. 26 *ferebat;* Intr. 17. — **intemperantia:** on the gossip about the adoption cf. 1, 12 med. — **destinandi:** cf. 1, 12 *destinabant* (sc. *imperio*). — **fortunae:** cf. on 1, 10 fin.; below, 61 init. — **praesaga:** Intr. 16. — **responsa:** cf. 1, 10 fin. *ostentis ac responsis;* below, 78. — **et:** cf. on 1, 51 fin. *et.* — **Achaiae urbe:** inserted not to give information (quite unnecessary in the case of Corinth), but by dwelling on the location to mark distinctly the point at which he turned back; cf. *Piraeum Atticae orae, Ann.* 5, 10. — **arma:** not syn. with *bellum,* but = *revolt;* cf. 1, 50 fin. *arma Orientis.* Cf., however, 2, 74 *bellum armaque.* — **paucis amicorum:** Tac. is fond of *pauci* with the gen.; cf. 22 fin. *cum paucis equitum;* 3, 12 *paucis resistentium; Ann.* 2, 57 and 3, 10 fin. *paucis familiarium adhibitis;* beginning as a partitive the constr. was used even where one cannot speak of whole and part. — **sive:** for *sive . . . sive;* cf. 9 *seu; Ann.* 1, 6 *ficta seu vera.* — **fore:** notice that the verb is carried on as far as *excusatum,* although it is *esse* that is suppressed with *incertam.*

2. vicit: in the contest between hope and fear, for the possession of Titus, the former was the winner. — **Berenice:** great-granddaughter of Herod the Great, daughter of Herod Agrippa I (the Herod of *Acts* 12), sister of Herod Agrippa II, with whom she had heard Paul's defense (*Acts* 26), eight or nine years before. "A Cleopatra on a small scale" (Mommsen, *R. P.* II, 238), she had deserted her third husband, Polemo, prince of a part of Cilicia, and lived with her brother Agrippa, who was now with Titus at Corinth, but went on to Rome (cf. 81). In 75 she came to Rome and lived with Titus; but he sent her away, as also in 79, *invitus invitam* (Suet. *Tit.* 7). Cf. Dio 66, 15, 18. — **reginae** = *princess.* — **laeva maris:** i.e. the Aegean, as lying to the left of his course through the Cyclades to Rhodes; the gen. is part.; cf. 69 *inania belli.* — **praevectus** = *praetervectus;* cf. *Ann.* 2, 6 *qua Germaniam praevehitur* (sc. *Rhenus*). — **spatiis** = *stretches.* — **incessit:** with the constr. of *invasit;* cf. 5, 23 *Civilem cupido incessit;* so also in Sall. and Livy. — **Paphiae:** Paphos, at the S. W. end of Cyprus, was a colony of the Phoenicians and an ancient seat of the worship of Aphrodite. — **fuerit longum:** the stereotyped classical phrase was *longum est;* but Tac. prefers the potential; cf. *Ann.* 4, 65 *haud fuerit absurdum;* below, 77 *absurdum fuerit.* — **ritum:** i.e. *ceremonies.* — **habetur:** *haberi* in Sall. and Tac. is often little more than *esse;* cf. 3, 12 fin. *inter duces habebatur* = *unus e ducibus erat; Agr.* 28 *rectores habebantur* = *rectores erant.* — **disserere:** Cic. would have said *de initiis . . . pauca disserere.*

3. Aërias: cf. *Ann.* 3, 62 fin., where the Cyprians speak of him as their founder (*auctor*), and ascribe to him the establishment of this their most venerable shrine. Cyprus itself was called Aëria. — **Cinyras:** mentioned once in Homer as having given Agamemnon a cuirass (*Il.* 11, 19 f.). According to the most popular legend he was the father of Adonis (Ovid *Met.* 10, 298–514). — **conceptam:** (i.e. *natam*); she was the sea-born goddess, *ἀναδυομένη, ἀφρογένεια.* — **accitam** = *imported;* explained by the following *et* epexegetic. — **posteri:** i.e. both Cinyradae (the *regium genus*) and Tamiradae. — **stirpem:** silver Latin use of the acc. after *antecellere,* as in *nondum omnes fortuna antecellis, Ann.* 14, 55 fin.; cf. on 1, 45 *proximos.* — **hostiae:** in this case for divination only, not for sacrifice; see below, and 4. — **fibris:** the

word is here a syn. for *exta*, as in the poets, Plin. and Suet.; when a techn. term of *haruspicina* it means *lobe* (of liver or lungs). — **vetitum**: for the impers. constr. cf. 4, 65 fin. *coram adire adloquique Velaedam negatum.* — **altaria**: an altar at Paphos was mentioned in the *Odyssey* 8, 363, a passage imitated by Verg. *Aen.* 1, 415 ff., who has *centum arae.* — **adolentur**: as a techn. term of sacrifice *adolere* = *comburere;* it was then extended from the victim to the altar and place of sacrifice, and may be translated *cherish, honor;* cf. Lucr. 4, 1237 *adolentque altaria donis;* Verg. *Aen.* 1, 704 *flammis adolere penates;* 7, 71 *adolet . . . altaria taedis;* *Ann.* 14, 30 fin. *cruore captivo adolere aras.* — **imbribus**: so Pliny *N.H.* 2, 210 *fanum . . . in cuius quandam aream non impluit.* — **quanquam**: with prep. phrase, as in 20 *quanquam in nullius iniuriam;* cf. with abl. circumst. 1, 83. — **simulacrum**: a primitive sacred stone, conical in shape, and white (not a meteorite, as has sometimes been thought). It is represented on some coins of Paphos; cf. Head *Hist. Num.* p. 628. Cf. *Encycl. Biblica,* col. 2979 f. — **continuus orbis**: cf. Intr. 20; on the omission of the adversative cf. on 1, 83 *nimia pietas;* 1, 29 *patris.*

4. opulentia: sc. *templi.* — **quaeque alia**: objects linked with the name of some historical or mythological personage, including apocryphal inscriptions. — **vetustati adfingit**: i.e. *fictis narrationibus vetustati attribuit.* — **pandi**: middle sense = *patere.* — **caesis . . . hostiis**: on the abl. abs. at end of sentence cf. Intr. 7. — **ubi . . . videt**: the classical use of hist. pres. with *ubi* (and *postquam*) with a verb of perceiving. — **magnis consultis**: cf. Suet. *Tit.* 5 *aditoque Paphiae Veneris oraculo, dum de navigatione consulit, etiam de imperii spe confirmatus est.* — **respondens**: aoristic use of the ptcp.; i.e. it is not felt as a present; in golden Latin it would be *cum respondisset;* yet rare examples are found even in Cicero (*Brut.* 180; *pro Lig.* 7). — **secreto** = *private interview;* cf. 100 *secretum . . . quaesitum;* 4, 49 *secreto eorum nemo adfuit.* — **fiducia**: on the abstr. for concr. cf. Intr. 15; for the apposition cf. 23 *incitamenta;* 24 fin. *cumulus . . . subsidium.* — **profligaverat** = *paene confecerat,* a regular meaning of the word; cf. Livy 21, 40, 11 *committere ac profligare bellum . . . commissum ac profligatum conficere;* Augustus. *Mon. Ancyr.* 20 *coepta profligataque opera a patre meo perfeci* (*CIL.* III, 2, p. 780); Cic. *Ep.* 12, 30, 2 *profligato bello*

ac paene sublato; Hist. 3, 50; *Germ.* 13 fin. — **bellum Iudaicum**: cf. 5, 10; the completion of the war and destruction of Jerusalem were narrated in book 5, but the Ms. ends abruptly, and most of the story, as told by Tacitus, is lost. — **ingenium**: cf. on 1, 51 *ingenio;* 5, 14 *camporum suopte ingenio umentium.* — **montis**: collectively for several *colles;* cf. 5, 11. — **quam quo . . . superesset**: the real reason has preceded in the condensed form *ob ingenium montis* (= *quod mons natura praeruptus erat*); cf. Sall. *Cat.* 14, 7 *sed ex aliis rebus magis, quam quod . . . compertum foret;* Livy 43, 21, 8 *magis quia . . . poterat, quam quod . . . esset;* Cic. *Ep.* 10, 3, 4 *amore magis impulsus . . . quam quo te arbitrarer,* etc.; Caes. *B. G.* 4, 2, 1 *magis eo, ut . . . quam quo ullam rem . . . desiderent.* — **supra**: i.e. 1, 10. — **exercitae**: cf. 1, 68 *exercita.* — **quattuor Mucianus**: cf. on 1, 10 init. — **discrimina . . . labor**: Intr. 14. — **inexperti**: passive; cf. 1, 8; *Ann.* 1, 59 *inexperta . . . supplicia, nescia* (= *ignota*) *tributa.* — **inexperti belli rubor**: cf. 22 *pudore coeptae temere obpugnationis.* — **cohortium**, etc.: cf. 76 fin. *classium alarum cohortium robora et fidissimi reges.* — **classes**: there were galleys (*Liburnicae*) in the Black Sea, ordered to Byzantium by Mucianus (cf. 83; 3, 47); also a fleet-station at Seleucia, the port of Antioch; another in Egypt. — **reges**: the three whom Tac. names (cf. on 81; 5, 1) are: (1) Agrippa, i.e. Herod Agrippa II, brother of Berenice, and prince of Galilee and of Batanaea, east of the Lake of Galilee and the Jordan; (2) Antiochus IV, King of Commagene, north of Syria, and of a part of Cilicia; later, deposed by Vespasian (in 72), he lived in exile at Sparta and then at Rome. (3) Sohaemus, ruler of Sophene, on the left bank of the Euphrates, bordering on Armenia. All three had been *socii reges* in the campaigns of Corbulo under Nero (*Ann.* 13, 7 f.).

5. Vespasianus, etc.: on the style of this passage cf. Intr. 24. — **acer militiae**: cf. on 1, 87 fin. *impiger.* — **anteire agmen**: cf. on 1, 45 *proximos.* — **diu**: an old Latin abl., obsolete, except for Sallust, Tacitus, and Fronto. — **posceret**: cf. on 1, 49 *forent;* 1, 79 *ubi res posceret.* — **prorsus**: used by Sall. and Tac. at the end of a series for *denique*, i.e. *in a word;* cf. 62 *prorsus, si luxuriae temperaret,* etc.; Sall. *Iug.* 23, 1 *prorsus intentus cuncta parare; Cat.* 15, 5, etc. — **abesset**: imperf. for pluperf. in a purely speculative condition; cf. 62 *temperaret* for *temperasset.* — **Mucianus**: for a fuller account of

him cf. 1, 10. — **cuncta . . . supergressa**: cf. Intr. 11. — **sermone**: on his command of Greek also cf. 80 *satis decorus etiam Graeca facundia.* — **dispositu**: the abl. with *peritus* is very rare in golden Latin; cf. Cic. *pro Cluent.* 107 *iure peritior.* — **miscerentur**: for the tense cf. on *abesset*, above. — **vicinis**: *vicinarum* was avoided for reasons of euphony. — **exitu**: for the abl. cf. on 1, 89 *motu Vindicis.* — **in medium**: cf. 37 *in medium consultarent;* 1, 68 *in unum consulere.* — **dein**: instead of proceeding with *per Titum*, etc., Tac. recasts the thought in the form of a main clause; so 98 fin.; cf. on 1, 76 *sed erat.* — **fides**: for the apposition cf. 4 *Titus . . . fiducia.* — **aboleverat**: not anterior to *consuluere;* the pluperf. denotes prompt and successful action, as in 25 *cinxerat;* 73 fin. *proruperant;* 80 *transierat.* — **arte . . . compositus**: cf. Livy 26, 19, 3 *sed arte quoque quadam . . . in ostentationem earum* (sc. *virtutum*) *compositus.*

6. **praecipitibus**: in a weaker sense than in 41 *praecipites exploratores*, and 1, 40 *ire praecipites.* — **ut adsolet**: the comparison is not with everyday news, but with that of extraordinary events. — **mole . . . belli**: cf. 16 *tanta mole belli;* 74 *in tanta mole belli plerumque cunctatio;* in a different sense 1, 61 fin. *tota mole belli.* — **Gallia**: sc. *Cisalpina.* — **auditi**: cf. on 1, 30 *audita est.* — **inspecti** = *aspecti.* Augustus had repeatedly visited the East, but since the death of Germanicus, 19 A.D. at Antioch, no emperor or prince had been seen in the eastern provinces. — **vario eventu**: in speaking of the same events Tac. makes Corbulo say *multa Romanis secunda, quaedam Parthis evenisse, Ann.* 15, 27 (63 A.D.). — **bello**: the revolt of Vindex and of Galba; cf. on 1, 6 fin. — **aliis**: best taken as masc.; cf. 7 *bellantibus aliis.* — **raptum ire**: cf. 1, 67 *ultum ibat; Ann.* 4, 1 *raptum ierit;* ib. 66 *perditum ibat.* — **circumspicere**: cf. 74 *bellum armaque et . . . vires circumspectabat.* — **septem legiones**: the beginning of an *enumeratio;* Intr. 23. — **inde**: cf. on 1, 68 *inde.* — **duaeque legiones**: cf. on 1, 11 *copiasque.* — **Pontus**: a new province on the S. E. coast of the Black Sea, until 63 the kingdom of Polemo; cf. Suet. *Nero* 18; below, 8. — **Armeniis**: south of Pontus lay Lesser Armenia, separated from Armenia proper (in part) by the upper Euphrates. — **praetenditur**: cf. 14 *minaci fronte praetenderetur.* — **tutum**: owing to their control of the fleets; cf. 4 fin.

7. aliis: made definite in the next sentence. — **bellorum civilium victores:** cf. *Ann.* 1, 19 *ne civilium quidem bellorum victores.* — **ignaviam** = *lack of energy;* more characteristic of Vitellius than of Otho; but cf. 38 fin. *ignavia principum.* — **luxuriem:** for Otho's abandonment of his usual *luxus* cf. 11 fin. — **distulere,** etc.: for the order cf. 52 *coeunt, nemo,* etc. — **nuper:** i.e. six months before, — *exitu Neronis,* 5 med. — **olim:** cf. on 1, 60 *olim.* — **mixtis:** as in *Agr.* 38 *miscere . . . consilia, dein separare* (*consilia*); cf. below, 74 *consilia sociaverat;* Caesar's word was *communicare,* e.g. *B. G.* 6, 2 fin. — **optimus quisque:** sc. *id agebat.* — **multos:** instead of continuing the previous constr. Tac. abruptly abandons the active for the passive voice. — **ambiguae domi res:** cf. Juvenal's *res angusta domi* (3, 165; 6, 357); cf. 1, 88 fin. *multi adflicta fide,* etc.

8. velut = *in the belief that, by the report that;* cf. on 1, 8 *tanquam . . . fovissent.* — **super** = *de;* this was colloquial in Cicero's time, hence found only in his Letters to Atticus (e.g. 16, 6, 1 *hac super re*); accepted by Sall., Livy, Tac. — **exitu:** there were persistent reports that he had only disappeared; the people who decked his tomb with flowers even produced *edicta quasi viventis et brevi magno inimicorum malo reversuri* (Suet. *Nero* 57). — **ceterorum:** cf. 1, 2 *falsi Neronis ludibrio.* In the *Annals* we meet a false Agrippa Postumus and a pretender Drusus (2, 39; 5, 10). — **in contextu operis:** but the books in question have perished. — **Pontus:** cf. on 6 *Pontus.* — **super similitudinem:** for *super* = *praeter* cf. on 1, 8 *super;* 2, 30 *super benignitatem animi.* — **pronior . . . fides:** *fides* is here the confidence which others had in him, and by which he profited (*illi,* dat. poss.); cf. 1, 87 *plurima fides Licinio Proculo;* 2, 33 fin. *Otho, cui uni apud militem fides.* For *pronior ad* cf. ib. *Otho pronus ad decertandum; fides* is half-personified. — **Cythnus:** one of the Cyclades, with hot springs. — **commeantium:** i.e. they were on leave; the verb is given a special mg. to correspond with *commeatus* = *furlough.* — **dextras:** cf. on 1, 54 *dextras.* — **ad celebritatem nominis:** from the notion *in reference to* the reader supplies for himself that of cause or occasion; cf. below, 36 *laeto milite ad mutationem ducum;* 73 *ad nomen eius Vitellius excitabatur;* 68 *ad omnes suspiciones pavidus.* — **gliscentem:** the word is Tac.'s favorite synonym for *crescere;* cf. 83 *gliscere famam . . . sinebat.*

9. Galatia: in spite of mountains and distance between this inland province and Pamphylia, on the S. coast of Asia Minor (W. of Cilicia), the two were sometimes under one provincial governor. — **Misenensi:** the principal naval station was behind the promontory of Misenum, at the entrance to the bay of Naples. Next in order came the station at Ravenna, for the Adriatic fleet; cf. 100. — **is:** the pretender. — **in maestitiam:** cf. 1, 54 *in squalorem maestitiamque compositi.* — **eum:** the substitution of *eum* for *se,* if it prevents an ambiguity without creating another, was admitted even by the best writers; cf. below, 64 init. *eius* for *suam.* — **in Syria:** one would expect *in Syriam,* but the poets had preferred the abl. phrase with *sistere.* — **nutantes . . . dolo:** cf. Intr. 13. — **firmaverunt** = *adfirmaverunt,* cf. Intr. 17. — **Romam:** the incident is cleverly used to bring the reader back to Rome and the West.

10. Transition: Rome: a *delator* condemned.

Q. Vibius Crispus: of Vercellae (near Turin), a celebrated orator and accuser; cos. suff. under Nero, then *curator aquarum* 68–71, proconsul of Africa *ca.* 71–72; held two more consulships, and died (over eighty) in the time of Domitian; cf. 4, 41 f.; *Dial.* 8, 13; Plin. *N. H.* 19, 4; Frontin. 102. — **ingenio:** on his oratory cf. the judgment of Quint., *compositus et iucundus et delectationi natus,* etc. (10, 1, 119). — **factitaverat:** for the use of this word of a trade or profession cf. Quint. 7, 2, 26 *medicinam factitasse;* Cic. *Brut.* 130 *accusationem factitaverit;* cf. below, 10 fin. *accusationes cum praemio exercuisse.* — **recenti:** i.e. early in Galba's reign (not *recent*). — **iactatum** = *treated, handled, executed; varie* is explained by the following, *et* being epexegetic (*that is*); cf. on 1, 89 init. — **vel . . . aut:** cf. on 1 *vel.* — **incubuerat:** with inf. as in Verg. (*Georg.* 4, 249), for the Ciceronian *ad pervertendum.* — **fratris sui:** i.e. L. Vibius Secundus: an earlier condemnation for extortion, as procurator of Mauretania (60 A.D.), is mentioned *Ann.* 14, 28 fin. — **indefensum et inauditum:** cf. 1, 6 *inauditi atque indefensi.* — **aeque . . . quam:** after a negative Tac. prefers this to class. *aeque ac.* — **potentia:** cf. on 1, 1 *potentiam.* — **dari . . . censebant:** in place of the usual *ut* clause, Livy uses acc. and inf. of the 2d periphr. or acc. and pres. inf. with *censeo,* and Tac. follows his example; cf. 1, 39 *rostra occupanda censerent.* — **et** = *et vero;* cf. on 1, 34 *et.* — **moribus:** i.e. *conduct;* cf. 1, 48 *variis moribus.*

11–26. First period of the war between Otho and Vitellius; favorable, in general, to the former; of the latter's two armies only that under Caecina has yet reached the plains of the Po.

11. motis: for the march into North Italy. — **Delmatia Pannoniaque:** for the legions in these provinces cf. on 1, 9 *Illyrico.* — **bina milia:** i.e. a detachment (*vexillum*) of 2000 men from each legion was sent in advance. — **ipsae:** in contrast with their *vexilla.* — **a Galba conscripta:** cf. on 1, 6 *Hispana;* this new legion is to be distinguished from VII *Claudia* (or *Claudiana*) in Moesia; cf. 85. — **quartadecumani:** XIV *Gemina Martia Victrix* had formed part of the force with which Aulus Plautius conquered Britain for Claudius, 43 A.D.; had especially distinguished itself under Suetonius Paulinus in the suppression of the revolt of Boadicea in 61 (*rebellione Britanniae compressa*) — hence their proud epithet *domitores Britanniae,* 5, 16. They were ordered to Dalmatia by Nero. A detachment fought for Otho at Bedriacum, below, 43, 66. — **eligendo:** probably for his eastern campaign (1, 6 fin.). Apparently they had gone no further than Dalmatia when the uprising under Vindex led to a change of orders. A detachment at least had been summoned to Rome by Nero (l.c.). — **fides:** but the Batavian auxiliaries attached to this legion were against Nero; cf. below 27. — **studia:** Otho is to them the avenger of Nero. — **tarditas:** symmetry would require the insertion of *eo maior* before *tarditas;* on this form of variety cf. on 1, 14 fin. *quo suspectior;* 2, 99 *quantum . . . tanto,* etc. — **alae cohortesque:** i.e. their regular auxiliaries; cf. on 1, 60 *cohortibus.* — **praeveniebant** = *antecedebant;* only here in Tac.; but cf. *Ann.* 1, 63 fin. *militem cum antevenisset.* — **ex ipsa urbe:** the ellipsis of *veniebat* is hardly felt after *praeveniebant.* — **equitum:** i.e. praetorians. — **vexilla:** by meton. for *alae,* as freq., e.g. 1, 70 *vexillis.* — **prima:** cf. on 1, 6 *e classe;* below, 23 *legionem primam;* 43 *prima Adiutrix.* — **severis ducibus:** so by Decimus Brutus in the campaign of Mutina; cf. App. *B. C.* 3, 49 fin. L. Antonius also had gladiators at Perusia; ib. 5, 33 fin. On the dat. cf. on 1, 11 *procuratoribus.* — **Annius Gallus:** cf. on 1, 87. — **Vestricius Spurinna:** well known from the letters of the Younger Pliny; accomplished as a writer of lyrics; cos. twice or three times; governor of Lower Germany, apparently, under Nerva or Trajan; Plin. *Ep.* 2, 7; 3, 1, etc. For his

courage in the defense of Placentia cf. below, 18 ff. — **prima consiliorum**: the expedition into Gallia Narbonensis, 1, 87. — **transgresso**, etc.: cf. 1, 89 fin. *et Caecina iam Alpes transgressus extimulabat.* — **Alpes**: by the Great St. Bernard, 1, 61, 70 fin. — **speraverat**: sc. *Otho*, implied in *consiliorum.* — **speculatorum**: cf. on 1, 24 *speculatori.* — **lecta corpora**: cf. Intr. 19; Verg. *Aen.* 2, 18 *delecta virum sortiti corpora;* 9, 272 *lectissima matrum | corpora;* Livy's phrase is *robora virorum*, 21, 54, 3, or *lecta robora virorum*, 7, 7, 4. — **ceteris**: the *speculatores* formed one of the five cohorts (see above, *quinque . . . cohortes*). — **e praetorio**: cf. 1, 20 *e praetorio.* — **classicorum**: the marines had demanded organization as a legion; cf. on 1, 6 *introitus;* and 1, 87 *numeros.* — **ferrea**: not the more comfortable *lintea.* — **ire**: for the single hist. inf. cf. on 1, 46 *fatigari.* — **famae**: followed by Juvenal in his gibe at Otho's mirror, — *speculum civilis sarcina belli*, 2, 103.

12. Maritimae Alpes: a small province between Italy and Gallia Narbonensis, governed by a procurator (cf. below). His authority, though exercised on both banks of the Varus (Var) did not include the towns of Nicaea and Monoecus (Nice and Monaco) on the coast. The capital was Cemenelum (Cimiez), just north of Nice. — **temptandis** = *occupandis.* — **Suedius Clemens**, etc.: cf. on 1, 87. — **vinctus**: for other officers similarly treated cf. 26; 3, 14 (Caecina). — **ambitioso**: cf. on 1, 83 *ambitioso.* — **adversus** = *as regards.* — **modestiam**: cf. on 1, 52 *modesti.* — **corruptus**: cf. 1, 35 fin. *adversus blandientes incorruptus.* — **Italia . . . loca sedesque**: on the balanced structure cf. Intr. 14. — **tanquam**: adversative asyndeton; cf. on 1, 83 *nimia pietas;* 2, 16 *aptum tempus*, etc. — **rapere** = *diripere;* cf. Intr. 17. — **metus** = *alarms;* cf. on 13 *iras.* — **et belli malo**: omit the conj. in trans.; the Latin tolerates a correlation of different kinds of ablatives (cause and means). — **circumveniebantur**: cf. *Ann.* 14, 32 *quasi media pace incauti multitudine barbarorum circumveniuntur* (at Camulodunum, in Britain, 61 A.D.). — **procurator**: cf. on 1, 2 fin. *procurationes.* — **Marius Maturus**: cf. 3, 42 f. —**iuventus**: so in another procuratorial province, 1, 68 *et ipsorum Raetorum iuventus, sueta armis et more militiae exercita.* — **arcere . . . intendit**: cf. 22 *Cremonam petere intendit; Agr.* 18 *redigere . . . animo intendit.* — **noscitantibus**: cf. 1, 68 *non arma noscere.*

13. iras: for the plur. of the abstr. cf. 76 *his pavoribus;* 5, 24 *luctus; Ann.* 1, 55 fin. *incitamenta irarum.* — **Albintimilium** = *Album Intimilium* = Ventimiglia, now the nearest town in Italy (Liguria) to the French frontier. It was here that Agricola's mother was among the innocent victims, — *Agr.* 7 *nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga dum Intimilium . . . hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolae in praediis suis interfecit,* etc. — **capi:** i.e. that they might be sold into slavery. — **auxit invidiam** = *bad feeling was increased by,* etc.

14. adactae: cf. on 1, 55 *adactae;* 2, 73; 2, 6 *sacramentum Othonis acceperat.* The submission of Gall. Narb. to Vitellius was mentioned, 1, 76. — **Fabio Valenti:** at some point on his march towards the Cottian Alps; cf. 1, 66. — **coloniarum:** of the numerous colonies in Gall. Narb. the only places in serious danger from the fleet and marines of Otho were Forum Iulii (Fréjus), Arelate (Arles), and Narbo Martius (Narbonne), — possibly also Aquae Sextiae (Aix) and Nemausus (Nîmes). Massilia was a *civitas libera.* — **Tungri:** in Lower Germany, now Belgium, around Liége. These cohorts served in Britain under Agricola (*Agr.* 36), and remained there to the end of the Roman occupation. — **Treverorum:** cf. on 1, 53; this *ala* of cavalry appears again on the lower Rhine in the war against Civilis, in which it deserted with its commander Classicus; cf. 4, 18, 55. — **Iulius Classicus:** of the royal family of the Treveri; went over to the side of Civilis in 70; cf. 4, 55, 57 ff.; 5, 19 ff. — **misit:** they probably marched down the Rhone to Avennio (Avignon), and then via Aquae Sextiae (Aix). — **colonia Foroiuliensis:** Forum Iulii, a colony and naval station, now Fréjus, with many remains of its harbor works, amphitheater, and aqueduct; cf. 3, 43. It was the *patria* of Agricola; cf. *Agr.* 4. — **lecti:** i.e. a detachment (*vexillum,* 1, 31 fin.). — **Ligurum cohors:** numerous tombstones show that its regular station was Cemenelum (Cimiez); cf. on 12 init. — **vetus loci:** *vetus* in the sense of *prudens* or *expertus* takes a gen. in Tac.; cf. 4, 20 *veteres militiae;* 76 *veterem expertumque belli; Ann.* 1, 20 fin. *vetus operis ac laboris.* — **nondum sub signis:** i.e. recruits awaiting organization as a cohort; meantime they would have a *vexillum.* — **acies:** i.e. *Othonianorum,* as the mention of *classici* shows. — **classicorum:** cf. 11 fin. *classicorum ingens numerus.* — **paganis** = *peasants,* as in 4, 20, compelled by

the Othonians to fight on their side (cf. 1, 53 fin. *paganos = civilians*). — **colles**: the word hardly suggests the wild character of that coast. The scene of the battle must be placed somewhere about Monaco or Menton; cf. 15 fin. — **praetorianus miles**: a detachment of praetorians, assigned to duty with the fleet; cf. 1, 87. — **conversa**: i.e. with the *prorae* towards the shore, — the opposite of the usual position. — **praetenderetur**: sc. *litori*. — **Alpinos** = *Ligures* or *Ligurum cohortem*. — **cohortes**: used for the *lecti e cohortibus*, etc. (above); as *legiones* sometimes for detachments from different legions (cf. on 22 *legionum*). — **contra**: opposed to *a latere*. — **veteranus miles**: the praetorians. — **obscurum noctis**: cf. 4, 50 *obscuro . . . lucis; Ann.* 2, 39 fin. *obscuro diei;* cf. on 1, 62 *medio diei*. — **obtentui**: cf. on 1, 49 *obtentui;* the dative does duty in place of a relative clause, *quod obtentui erat*.

15. quanquam victi: cf. on 1, 43 *quanquam*. — **accitis**: no doubt from their base, at Fréjus; cf. 14. — **sidente** = *residente;* cf. Intr. 17. — **iuxta** = *iuxta sito = vicino;* for the attributive use of the adv. cf. *Agr.* 25 *universarum ultra gentium;* below, 16 *Liburnicarum ibi navium;* so also prep. phrases, e.g. 93 *crebrae in vulgus mortes;* cf. 1, 50 fin. *ante se;* 2, 54 *a Brixello;* 76 fin. *ante omnis; Germ.* 37 *multa in vicem damna*. — **Tungrarum**: here used as adj., cf. *Ann.* 4, 47 fin. *Sugambrae cohortis*. — **ne . . . quidem** = *also . . . not;* cf. on 1, 29 fin. — **quorum . . . secutos**: for the part. gen. with ptcp. cf. *Agr.* 11 fin. *Britannorum olim victis*. — **hinc . . . inde**: cf. on 6 *inde*. — **retro**: if with *revertēre*, there is a pleonasm; it may belong, however, only with the first member, — *retro Antipolim* (*cessere*). — **Antipolis**: a Massilian colony on the coast, now Antibes, 12 m. west of Nice. — **Albingaunum**: Albenga, also on the coast, but 64 m. east of Nice, — a distance which makes *interioris* appropriate. — **interioris Liguriae**: the gen. is attached in the Greek fashion directly to the town name, — a use found, however, even in Caesar; cf. *B. G.* 1, 10 fin. *in finis Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciae; Ann.* 5, 10 *Piraeum Atticae orae*. He means *a town of Liguria, some distance from the frontier*.

16. tenuit = *retinuit;* cf. Intr. 17. — **procuratoris**: Corsica was probably no longer administratively connected with Sardinia, but had its own procurator, and for garrison a small body of sailors and marines from the fleet at Misenum; cf. *CIL.* X, 2, p. 838. — **tanta**

mole belli: cf. on 2, 6 *mole . . . belli.* — **in summam** = *for the general cause (ultimate issue)*: cf. *Ann.* 13, 38 *nihil in summam pacis proficiebatur.* — **provenisset**: this figure for success is taken from the thriving of crops; cf. 20 fin. *ut initia belli provenissent.* — **trierarchum**: usually the commander of a trireme or galley (cf. 9), — here in command of a small squadron. — **Liburnicarum**: galleys of this type had won the day at Actium for Octavian; originally employed by the Liburnian pirates of Illyricum (Croatia and Dalmatia); cf. 35. — **ibi**: position gives it attributive force; cf. on 15 *iuxta;* 34 *validis utrimque trabibus;* 39 *tot circum amnibus.* — **Quintium**: for the asyndeton cf. on 1, 13 *Vinium . . . Laconem.* — **qui aderant**: other officials, or notables, in contrast with *turba.* — **inconditos**: in its common opposition to disciplined soldiers, as *Ann.* 3, 46 *inconditique ac militiae nescii oppidani;* ib. 4, 47 *magna vis armata, at incondita.* — **longe**: for the ellipsis of *abesse* cf. Intr. 26. — **vastatos**: transferred from cities and countries to their inhabitants; cf. 87 fin. *ipsi cultores arvaque . . . vastabantur; Agr.* 22 *vastatis nationibus; Ann.* 14, 23 fin., 38; not found before Livy (23, 42, 5 *devastati*). — **aperta vi**: sc. *egere;* cf. Intr. 26. — **aptum tempus**: on adversative asyndeton after negative cf. on 12 *tanquam.* — **balineis**: for the local abl. without prep. cf. 5, 5 *urbibus . . . templis;* Intr. 18; it may also be explained as circumstantial, i.e. *at the hour of the bath* (as *ludis, gladiatoribus,* etc.). — **conluvie rerum** = *confusion of the times.* — **permixtos**: and hence lost sight of.

17. aperuerat: in the sense of opening the way for conquest, as in Curt. 7, 1, 3 *primus Asiam aperuerat regi;* cf. *Hist.* 3, 2 fin. *iam reseratam Italiam . . . audietis.* In *Agr.* 22, *Germ.* 1, i is used of discovering new regions. — **supra**: i.e. 1, 70. — **apud quemquam**: referring to the inhabitants of the region in general, not merely to the Siliani. — **nec quia**: for *non quo* (cf. *quam quo*, 4). — **occupantibus**: i.e. the first to take possession. — **melioribus**: masc. as is shown by its contrast with *occupantibus;* here the unusual dat. with *incuriosus,* in place of gen. (1, 49 *famae nec incuriosus*). The full expression would be *eligendis melioribus incuriosos;* cf. *Ann.* 14, 38 *serendis frugibus incuriosos.* — **quantum**, etc.: Tac. leaves out of account all the country east of about Verona. In that quarter the Othonians were as yet unopposed. —

urbium: four were mentioned in 1, 70. — **praemissae . . . cohortes**: cf. ib. — **Pannoniorum**: this cohort was previously in Germany, at Bingerbrück; later probably in Britain; cf. *CIRh.* 740, 743. — **Cremona**: near the left bank of the Po, 19 m.p. below Placentia. — **Placentia** = Piacenza, a short distance from the right bank of the Po. — **Ticinum** = Pavia, on the left bank of the Ticinus (Ticino), near its mouth, *ca.* 35 m.p. from Placentia. — **quin etiam**: postpositive, as regularly in Tac., except in the *Dial.* — a poetic freedom of order; cf. 64 fin. — **Batavos**: they were eager to display their skill in swimming; cf. 4, 12 fin. *praecipuo nandi studio; Agr.* 18 *patrius nandi usus*, etc. — **falsi**: for this middle (or passive) sense cf. Sall. *Iug.* 85, 20 *illi falsi sunt, qui*, etc.; ib. 10, 1 *neque ea res falsum me habuit.*

18. certum erat: followed by acc. and inf. of the fact of which he was certain, and also two infinitives expressing his resolution. — **Spurinna**: cf. on 11. — **necdum** = *et nondum*, connecting with *et . . . nec.* — **propinquaret**: cf. Intr. 17; Tac. seems to have avoided *adpropinquare*, using it but three times; cf. 1, 39. — **vexillarios**: cf. on 1, 31 fin. *vexilla;* a part of the 8000 mentioned in 11 init. — **vexillis**: i.e. of the cavalry, and that of the detachment of 1000; cf. 11 *equitum vexilla.* — **retinenti**: for the conative use cf. on 1, 9 *retinentis.*

19. in conspectu: as there is no intimation that they crossed the Po in the face of the German auxiliaries (17 fin.), we must assume that they marched up the valley. At 8 m.p. from the city they probably reached the river, at a point where it bends away to the north. The sight of the river recalled the recent attack of the Batavians, and added to their sense of insecurity. — **metum ac discrimen**: i.e. *the danger to be feared;* a form of hendiadys, linking subjective effect with objective cause; cf. on 47 *solaciis.* — **circumfudisset**: the ind. quotation of *circumfuderit* (fut. perf.). — **laudari**: for the isolated hist. inf. cf. on 11 fin. *ire.* — **validam**: with gen. — not found before Tac.; cf. *Ann.* 4, 21 *orandi validus.* — **robur ac sedem** = *as a strong base;* hendiadys, cf. *Agr.* 3 *fiduciam ac robur;* for *sedes bello* cf. 3, 8 *quae sedes bello legeretur; Ann.* 14, 33 *an illam sedem bello deligeret.* — **bello**: cf. on 1, 67 *initium bello.* — **rationem**: cf. on 1, 83 *ratio rerum;* 2, 25 *cum ratione;* 80 *spes timor, ratio casus.* — **haud paeniteret**: i.e.

they had no reason to be dissatisfied with, etc.; cf. *Agr.* 33 *neque me militum neque vos ducis paenituit.*

20. saevitia, etc.: the reference is to his harsh treatment of the Helvetii, 1, 67 f. — **versicolori**: after the Gallic style; cf. 5, 23 *sagulis versicoloribus.* — **bracas**: for the poetic acc. constr. with *indutus* cf. Intr. 19; only here in Tac.; it is found also in Livy (27, 37, 12). The Mss. add the appositive *barbarum tegmen*, probably a gloss. Roman soldiers were beginning to wear *bracae* when on service in northern countries. — **quanquam . . . veheretur**: cf. on 1, 68 *quanquam.* — **in nullius iniuriam**: emphatic; *although no one was injured by the fact that*, etc. A striking example of condensation; cf. on 46 *maiore animo.* — **ostro**: i.e. a purple cloth on which she sat. — **gravabantur**: trans. as *Ann.* 3, 59 fin. *gravaretur aspectum civium*, and 5, 8 *spem ac metum iuxta gravatus.* — **insita mortalibus natura**: as in 1, 55, with the same inf. constr. — **nullis**: substantive (rare, but class.); cf. *nulli*, *Ann.* 2, 77 fin.— **speciosis et inritis**: the contrast between the two adjj. makes an adversative conj. unnecessary. This is a favorite grouping with Tac., often with a touch of satire; cf. 3, 56 fin. *iucundum et laesurum;* 4, 33 fin. *maior numerus et imbellior;* *Ann.* 12, 52 *senatus consultum atrox et inritum.* — **iactata sunt**: neut. verb with feminine subjects, as frequently in Sall. (e.g. *Iug.* 38, 8; *Cat.* 20, 2); cf. 3, 70 *pacem et concordiam victis utilia, victoribus tantum pulchra esse;* 4, 64 *ut amicitia societasque . . . rata sint.* — **provenissent**: cf. on 16 *provenisset;* on 19 *circumfudisset;* cf. *Agr.* 18 *prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore.*

21. impetu . . . transactus: contrast 1, 47 *exacto per scelera die.* — **aperti**: i.e. without waiting to construct *vineae, plutei*, etc., cf. below. — **amphitheatri**: it must have been largely constructed of wood, like that at Fidenae, which collapsed in 27 A.D., when 50,000 (?) were killed or injured; *Ann.* 4, 62 f. — **dum**: cf. 3, 71 *ambigitur, ignem tectis obpugnatores iniecerint, an obsessi, . . . dum nitentes ac progressos depellunt* (of the burning of the Capitol). — **glandes** = *fire-balls*, of iron or clay, heated; cf. Caes. *B. G.* 5, 43 *ferventis fusili ex argilla glandis.* — **missilem ignem**: cf. Caes. ib. *fervefacta iacula;* also known as *falaricae*, Liv. 21, 8, 10; another kind was the *malleolus*, Liv. 42, 64, 3 *faces taedamque et malleolos stuppae inlitos pice.* — **tam capax**: this was, of course,

before the building of the Flavian amphitheater at Rome (Colosseum). That of Verona is of much later date. — **foret** = *esset;* cf. 88, 100, etc. — **in levi habitum:** not differing in sense from *leve habitum;* cf. *Ann.* 3, 54 *in levi habendum; Germ.* 5 *in pretio habent.* — **ceterum:** returning from the digression. — **absumpta:** cf. *Agr.* 21 *sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta; Ann.* 2, 8 *plures dies efficiendis pontibus absumpti.* — **pluteos:** the *pluteus* was a kind of shield on wheels; it was made of planks with a sharp angle, or in its semicircular form, of wicker covered with hides. — **crates** = *fascines,* similar to the wicker *plutei,* but without the hides. — **vineas:** with their hide-covered roofs and sides the *vineae* furnished protection to a whole squad. — **perfringendis:** Tac. has in mind the *vineae* and *testudines,* but strains a point in letting the word agree with *hostibus;* cf. on 16 *vastatos.* — **pudor:** their *honor* was at stake; they were ashamed to give way. — **gloria** = *gloriae cupido,* as *Ann.* 1, 43 *pudor et gloria.* — **legionum . . . exercitus,** etc.: on the style of this passage cf. Intr. 14. — **attollentium:** loosely connected with *exhortationes,* in order to provide a government for *robur* and *decus.* — **peregrinum:** whereas praetorians were recruited in Italy; cf. 1, 84 *Italiae alumni.* — **uberioribus . . . probris:** cf. 30 fin. *quamvis uberrima conviciorum in Vitellium materia.*

22. die = *luce;* cf. Intr. 19. — **plena . . . fulgentes:** cf. Intr. 23. — **legionum:** on the use of the plur. where there was but one legion and detachments cf. on 1, 70 fin. *legionum;* 2, 25; cf. on 14 *cohortes.* — **sagittis aut saxis:** i.e. *eminus.* — **fluxa:** a favorite word with Tac., to express the idea of decay, decline, etc.; cf. 32 *fluxis corporibus.* — **cantu truci:** i.e. the *barditus* of *Germ.* 3; cf. 4, 18 *ut virorum cantu, feminarum ululatu sonuit acies,* etc. (Civilis and his Germans). — **nudis:** either lightly clad, or bare to the waist; cf. *Germ.* 6 *nudi aut sagulo leves.* — **subruit,** etc.: the vivid effect of the hist. pres. is often increased by its position in advance of its object. — **molitur:** conative. — **ingenti pondere:** abl. manner, but to be translated as abl. qual. — **confixi:** i.e. by ordinary weapons, which did not need to be mentioned. — **exsangues** = *bleeding to death.* — **infracta . . . fama:** a serious loss for the dreaded armies of the Rhine; cf. 24 init.; 27 *reciperandi decoris cupidine.* — **isdem castris:** abl.; cf. on 1, 55 *hibernis.* — **intendit:**

cf. 12 fin. *arcere . . . intendit.* — **Iulius Briganticus:** son of Civilis' sister. But he was an enemy of the Batavian leader (*ut ferme acerrima proximorum odia sunt*, 4, 70), and died fighting for Rome, 5, 21. — **primipilaris:** cf. on 1, 31 *primipilaribus.* — **ordines duxerat** = *centurio fuerat;* cf. 4, 5.

23. acta: sc. *essent;* cf. 42 *ignaris quae causa salutandi.* Omission of the subjv. in ind. quest. is frequent; cf. on 1, 85 *ne . . . silentium.* — **Annius Gallus:** cf. 11; 1, 87. — **legionem primam:** cf. on 11 *prima.* — **ne . . . tolerarent:** an expansion of *diffisus;* cf. on 1, 38 *ut . . . distingueretur;* 2, 26 fin. — **pergere:** the repulse at Placentia caused no retreat, or abandonment of his general plan of campaign. — **Bedriacum:** 22 m.p. east of Cremona, according to the *Tabula Peutingeriana;* the village occupied a position of strategic importance at the junction of the Via Postumia with a direct road to Verona. The former led from Placentia through Cremona to Mantua, and perhaps via Hostilia to Patavium and Aquileia; cf. 24 *viae* and *aggerem viae;* 41 *via;* 3, 21 *viae Postumiae aggere.* Probably near the left bank of the Ollius, at Calvatone; cf. *CIL.* V, 1, p. 411. The distance to Cremona was given as 20 m.p. (*vicesimo lapide*) by Pompeius Planta, a contemporary of Tac., but this is probably a round number; cf. Schol. on Iuv. 2, 99. — **duabus . . . cladibus:** both in this same year, viz. that of 14th April, in which the Vitellians gained the victory (cf. 41–44), and that in October, in which they succumbed to the troops of Vespasian (3, 16–25). Both battles might have been named from Cremona, rather than Bedriacum. — **notus infaustusque:** observe the Latin method of converting *noted* into *notorious* by adding another adj., a form of hendiadys. — **Martius Macer:** he had commanded the IVth and Vth legions in Germany, and had governed Moesia (under Claudius) and then Achaia. His *cursus honorum* is found on an inscr. at Arezzo, *CIL.* XI, 1835; cf. below, 71. — **animi:** cf. on 1, 53 *animi* (*inmodicus*). — **gladiatores:** cf. 11. — **adversam:** i.e. the left, or north, bank. — **Cremonam:** at present the headquarters of the Vitellians. — **repressus:** by the Othonian generals; see below. — **animo:** added to balance *ore* in the chiasmus. — **eos quoque:** referring to Paulinus and Celsus only. As Gallus alone has been mentioned lately (11, 23), the reader might forget the other commanders named in 1, 87. — **incitamenta:**

appositive to *interfectores;* cf. on 4 *fiducia.* — **miscere cuncta:** cf. 1, 53 *miscere cuncta;* and on 2, 11 fin. *ire.* — **humillimo:** cf. on 1, 52 *humilis.* — **inter adversa:** on the variety cf. Intr. 13. — **Titianus:** he had been left behind as Otho's representative at Rome, 1, 90 fin. It was a strange act of blindness on Otho's part to relieve the able trio named above, and give the command to his incompetent brother.

24. interea: it was some time before Titianus could arrive. — **coepta:** i.e. *the fact that,* etc.; Intr. 11. — **nuper:** by the gladiators of Martius Macer, 23. — **crebra . . . proelia:** in apposition with *concursum,* which is not limited to a single encounter. — **digna memoratu:** cf. Livy 4, 43, 1 *nihil dignum memoratu;* 27, 41, 5 *certamina haud satis digna dictu;* but in Caesar *dignum memoria, B. G.* 7, 25, 1. — **Valens:** cf. 14; he reaches Ticinum (Pavia) at chap. 27. — **illuc** = *in illum,* as 4, 18 *illuc* (= *in illos*) *incubuere Germani.* — **ad duodecumum:** sc. *lapidem;* cf. 39 *ad quartum a Bedriaco;* the distance from Bedriacum would be ten miles; cf. on 23 *Bedriacum.* — **locus Castorum:** cf. Suet. *Otho* 9 *ad Castoris, quod loco nomen est;* some shrine of Castor and Pollux (the *Castores*) gave its name to the spot. — **viae:** sc. *Postumiae;* cf. on 23 *Bedriacum.* — **inritato proelio:** the usual expression was *hostes proelio* (abl.) *lacessere;* cf. Caes. *B. G.* 1, 15, 3. — **insidiae:** one would expect *ex insidiis,* as in Livy 21, 34, 6 *ex insidiis barbari . . . coorti.* — **coorerentur:** but the plan failed, and they did not wait for the approach of the Othonians; cf. 25 *Vitelliani temere exsurgentes.* — **Paulinus . . . Celsus:** while Annius Gallus remained in charge at Bedriacum, where reënforcements were daily arriving. Possibly he had already met with the accident mentioned at 33 init. — **sumpsere:** for the plural cf. on 1, 48 *interfecerant.* — **vexillum:** the 2000 who had preceded the body of the legion; cf. 11 init.; cf. 1, 31 fin. *vexilla.* — **aggerem:** the elevated, paved central portion of the road, a familiar feature of every Roman road in a flat country; cf. 42 fin.; 3, 21 *in ipso viae Postumiae aggere.* — **altis ordinibus:** i.e. in column. Although not explicitly stated, it is probable that the legionaries and auxiliaries were also in columns at first, on account of the lack of unobstructed ground; cf. 25 *pandi aciem;* and *in vineas . . . modica silva,* etc. — **cumulus:** for the apposition cf. 4 *fiducia;* 23 *incitamenta;* for the sense, 1, 77 *pontificatus . . . cumulum dignitatis addidit.*

25. prudens = *acquainted with* (in advance), as in *Agr.* 19 *animorum provinciae prudens.* — **suos:** i.e. the cavalry; cf. 24. — **exsurgentes:** i.e. *ex insidiis.* — **ultro:** of the biter bitten; cf. on 1, 7 *ultro.* — **in insidias:** the auxiliary cohorts had advanced more rapidly than the legionaries and praetorians in the center, so that Paulinus' formation was now *en échelon.* Celsus in retiring passed through the center, drawing the Vitellians into a trap. — **legionum:** cf. on 22 *legionum.* The praetorians are not mentioned, because the change of formation explained above reduced them to the position of a reserve. — **discursu:** i.e. separating to right and left. — **cinxerat:** cf. on 5 fin. *aboleverat.* — **eques:** the praetorian and auxiliary cavalry which had at first been held in reserve (24 fin., 25 fin.). — **cum ratione:** i.e. *that were logical;* cf. 19 *rationem.* — **fossas:** some were for irrigation, others for drainage. — **aperiri:** cf. the obstacles mentioned just below. — **traducum** = *vine-layers,* trained from tree to tree, — the method still practiced in that region. — **et** = *besides.* — **ausi:** in a pregnant sense; cf. 71 fin. *adversus Neronem ausus;* 5, 11 *longius ausuri.* — **equitum:** cf. on *eques,* above. — **rex** = *prince.* — **Epiphanes:** son of Antiochus IV of Commagene (cf. on 4 fin. *reges;* 81); later he served under Titus against Jerusalem. After Vespasian annexed Commagene to Syria, Antiochus and Epiphanes were permitted to live at Rome; cf. Joseph. *B. I.* 5, 11, 3; 7, 7, 1–3. — **pugnam ciens:** cf. *Ann.* 3, 41 *pugnam pro Romanis ciens; Hist.* 4, 78 *pugnam ciebant;* as in Livy 1, 12, 2; 3, 18, 8.

26. erupit: until now they had taken no active part in the battle. — **protrita:** cf. 4, 17 *protritos Aeduos Arvernosque.* — **simul:** i.e. all at once; cf. below, *non universi.* — **in castris:** before Cremona. — **praefectus castrorum:** his duties included general charge of the camp and the guard, of tents, baggage-train, artillery, hospital, wood, straw, etc., and often fortification, road-making, etc.; cf. on 1, 82 *praefecto legionis;* 2, 29. — **tanquam:** cf. on 1, 48 *tanquam . . . furatus.* — **fratri** = *in gratiam fratris.* — **Iulius Fronto:** cf. 1, 20 fin. — **fugientes occursantes,** etc.: for the asyndeton of contrasted terms cf. 41 fin. *adcurrentium vocantium;* 42 *comminus eminus;* 70 *falsa vera;* 1, 3 fin. *laeta tristia,* etc. — **occursantes** = *qui subveniebant,* above. — **pro vallo:** cf. on 1, 36 fin. *pro vallo;* the panic extends even to those on guard at the

camp. — **ferebat**: cf. on 1 *ferebat.* — **ne**: for this explanatory use of *ne* cf. on 23 *ne . . . tolerarent.* — **in vulgus**: cf. 1, 71 fin. — **adverso rumore**: cf. 1, 73 *adversa . . . fama; Ann.* 14, 11 *Seneca adverso rumore erat.* They no doubt charged Paulinus with treachery; cf. 23 *variis criminibus incessebant.*

27–51. Second period of the war, following the arrival of Valens and culminating in the first battle of Bedriacum and suicide of Otho.

27. perinde . . . quam: cf. on 1, 30 fin. *perinde . . . quam.* — **modestiam** = *good discipline;* cf. on 1, 60 *modestia.* — **nec solum . . . quoque**: without the adversative; cf. *non modo . . . etiam, Ann.* 3, 19; 4, 35; 16, 26 *non solum Cossutianum aut Eprium . . . superesse qui,* etc. — **Ticinum**: cf. on 17. His route to the Cottian Alps was given, 1, 66. The march thence via Turin to Pavia is left undescribed. — **reciperandi decŏris**: they had lost credit by the defeat in the Maritime Alps (14 f.) and by a mutiny (see below). — **alioquin** = *ceterum* or *at;* see abundant examples, esp. from Plin. Sr. and Quint. in the *Thesaurus* I, 1593. — **repetam**: cf. on 1, 4 *repetendum.* — **bello Neronis**: the uprising of Vindex in Gaul and Galba in Spain, with the general disorder to which they gave rise. *Neronis* is obj. gen. — **digressas**: in Dalmatia; cf. on 11 *eligendo.* — **rettulimus**: 1, 59, 64. — **tentoria**: the acc. without *ad,* as 3, 24 *ut quosque . . . accesserat; Ann.* 14, 35 *ut quamque nationem accesserat;* cf. Sall. *Iug.* 62, 1 *Iugurtham . . . accedit;* Verg. *Aen.* 1, 201, 307; with *ad, Hist.* 1, 16 (figurative mg.). — **accessissent**: on the iterative subjv. cf. on 1, 10 *vacaret.* — **ablatam . . . Italiam**: they claimed that, but for them, the XIVth would have marched to the rescue, and Italy would have remained loyal to Nero. — **aut** = *modo . . . modo;* here connecting things both of which are true, but at different times; cf. 92 *offensis aut . . . blanditiis.* Cf. 1, 64 *iurgia primum, mox rixa.* — **suspectabat**: the modern sense appears first in Tac.; cf. 3, 82 *omnem prolationem . . . suspectabant; Ann.* 11, 16 *potentiam eius suspectantes.*

28. nuntio adlato: the news probably reached him somewhere between the pass (Mt. Genèvre = Alpis Cottia; cf. 1, 61) and Turin, or at the latter. — **pulsam**, etc.: cf. 14 f. — **praevalidas**: the conclusion of *si . . . forent.* — **tot bellorum victores**: the

same phrase, 4, 58; cf. *Ann.* 4, 18 *Sacroviriani belli victor.* — **columen** = *culmination;* the figure is from the highest point of a building, apex of a gable, ridge of the roof, etc. The other sense, *pillar, prop, support* is inappropriate here, as conflicting with the idea of motion in the verb. — **verteretur** = *hinged upon, depended upon, rested with;* cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10, 528 f. *non hic victoria Teucrum | vertitur,* a passage which Tac. may have had in mind; cf. Livy 4, 31, 4 *poscere dictatorem; in eo verti spes civitatis;* 37, 7, 8 *totum id vertitur in voluntate Philippi.* — **ut**: omit in translation.

29. iactando = *iactantes;* cf. 48 *laudando . . . castigando;* manner, rather than means, very freq. in Livy. — **spolia Galliarum**, etc.: cf. 1, 63 fin., 64. — **Viennensium aurum**: cf. 1, 66. — **pretia**: cf. *Ann.* 15, 12 *non vicos aut oppida Armeniorum, sed castra Romana . . . pretium laboris peti; Agr.* 12 *aurum et argentum . . . pretium victoriae.* — **tabernacula**: for the plur. cf. 1, 27 *praedia,* and the regular use of *aedes.* — **lanceis**: cf. on 1, 79 *lanceis.* — **Alfenus Varus**: cf. 43 fin.; Vitellius made him *praefectus praetorio,* 3, 36 fin.; cf. 3, 55, 61; 4, 11. — **praefectus castrorum**: cf. on 26 *praefectus castrorum.* — **deflagrante** = *flagrare desinente;* cf. Livy 40, 8, 9 *deflagrare iras vestras . . . posse.* — **consilium**: explained by the following abl. abs., instead of *vetuit enim,* etc. — **obire** = *to make the rounds.* — **deformis**: referring esp. to the *servilis vestis,* above. — **gaudium**: cf. Intr. 23. — **favor** = *applause.* — **versi**: cf. 63 *in paenitentiam versus;* 3, 62 *in desperationem versi.* — **gratantes** = *gratulantes,* the latter being very rare in Tac.; cf. *Ann.* 6, 50 *multo gratantum concursu;* 12, 7 *Claudius . . . praebet se gratantibus.* — **circumdatum**, etc.: so of Otho, 1, 36. — **aquilis**: i.e. of V *Alaudae* and I *Italica;* cf. 1, 61, 64. — **dissimulans**: i.e. if he took no notice; cf. on 1, 73 *dissimulantis.* — **paucos incusavit**: so Otho, 1, 84 f.

30. Ticinum: cf. 27 and on 17. — **adversa . . . pugna**: that at *locus Castorum,* 24–26. — **tanquam**: cf. on 26 *tanquam.* — **fraude** = *malitia.* — **cunctationibus**: by hendiadys the motive assigned and objective conduct are linked together; cf. on 47 *solaciis.* — **anteire signa**: cf. on 1, 45 *proximos.* — **iunguntur**: i.e. at Cremona. — **expositos**: silver Latin for *obiectos;* cf. 1, 11 fin. *exposita;* 2, 53 *expositum;* 83 *exponi Vitellio;* 3, 5 *ne . . . barbaris*

nationibus exponerentur. — **tanto pauciores:** Caecina's 30,000, as against Valens' *ca.* 45,000, i.e. 40,000 plus I *Italica* and the *ala Tauriana* (added at Lyons), minus the troops sent to Gall. Narb.; cf. 1, 61, 64; 2, 14. — **in suam excusationem:** for the coördination of prepositional phrase with ptcp. (*attollentes*) cf. Intr. 13. — **duplicatus**, etc.: exaggerated as to the total (cf. on *tanto pauciores*, above), but understating Valens' superiority in legionaries. — **legionum:** i.e. complete legions (two), and detachments from others (three). Caecina had one legion and *vexilla* of two others. Cf. 1, 61, 64. — **super:** cf. on 8 *super similitudinem.* — **promptior** = *more complaisant;* cf. *Ann.* 4, 60 fin. *Agrippina promptior Neroni erat.*— **vigore aetatis:** cf. 1, 53, where he was *decorus iuventa.* — **inani** = *unfounded*, i.e. not to be explained by the character or gifts of Caecina; cf. ib. — **ut foedum:** note the ellipse of *Valentem*, as of *Caecinam* before *ut tumidum.* — **foedum ac maculosum:** the same, 1, 7; Valens' vices were described at 1, 66; cf. 3, 41. — **inridebant:** for the plur., instead of class. sing. cf. on 1, 48 *interfecerant;* cf. also 2, 24 *sumpsere;* 31 *meruere* (but ib. *Vitellius . . . Otho . . . ducebatur*); 67 fin. *parabant;* 78 fin. *discessere;* 86 *tenebant;* 92 *pollebant.* — **utilitatem:** i.e. the cause of the Vitellians. — **quamvis:** a very rare use with the superl.; in Tac. only here and 3, 28 *quamvis pessimo flagitio.* With compar. *Ann.* 3, 52 *quamvis graviora* and *Germ.* 24 *quamvis iuvenior, quamvis robustior.*

31. meruere: cf. on 30 fin. *inridebant.* — **flagrantissimae:** cf. 4, 39 fin. *flagrantissimus . . . amor; Ann.* 11, 29 *flagrantissima . . . gratia;* 13, 45 fin. *flagrantissimus in amicitia Neronis.* — **sibi inhonestus:** i.e. his gluttony concerned no one directly but himself; cf. *Ann.* 2, 38 *sibi ignavi, nobis graves.* On Vitellius' habits cf. 68, 71, 87.

32. fama: for the achievements of Suetonius Paulinus cf. on 1, 87. — **callidior:** with gen. on the analogy of *peritus;* cf. *Ann.* 4, 33 *callidi temporum.* — **censere** = *to give his opinion.* — **universum:** Paulinus is not ignorant of the fact that five legions, reduced by detachments, had been left behind (cf. on 1, 61), not to mention auxiliaries; but argues that the present army represents all the troops Vitellius can venture to withdraw from the frontier. — **a tergo:** sc. *esse.* — **et . . . non:** for *neque*, but with a reason, since

non conducat = was inexpedient; cf. 34 *et . . . non occultabant (failed to conceal)*; 56 *et prohibere non ausis;* cf. below, *et nullo.* — **inrupturis**: the abl. abs. with fut. ptcp. begins with Livy; cf. 86 fin. *ceteris fortunam secuturis;* 3, 56 *peritissimis centurionum . . . vera dicturis;* 4, 39 *haud defutura consciorum manu.* — **Britannicum**: Vitellius called out 8000 legionaries from Britain; cf. 57, 100. — **hoste et mari distineri**: zeugma. — **Hispanias**: cf. on 1, 8 for the legions in Spain. — **et nullo**: cf. on 1, 31 *et nullo.* — **nullo maris subsidio**: abl. qual. Otho's Adriatic fleet, with its station at Ravenna, cut off all approach to Transpadane Italy by sea. — **iam** = *iam vero = moreover.* — **tracto**: conditional in force. — **fluxis corporibus**: in place of a causal clause; for the mg. cf. Livy on the Gauls, — 10, 28, 4 *Gallorum . . . corpora intolerantissima laboris atque aestus fluere;* 34, 47, 5 *labor et aestus mollia et fluida corpora Gallorum . . . cum decedere pugna coegisset.* Cf. 22 *aevo fluxa;* also on 99 *fluxa; Germ.* 4 fin. *minimeque sitim aestumque tolerare*, etc. — **taedia**: produced by the *morae;* contrast *fraude et cunctationibus*, 30 (v. note). — **opulenta**: in a wide sense = *abounding in resources.* — **caput rerum**: cf. *Ann.* 1, 47 *non omittere caput rerum.* — **obscura** = *empty, meaningless;* cf. 1, 30 *vacua nomina;* 1, 55 *oblitterata iam nomina.* — **Italiae sueta**: for the dat. cf. 1, 4 fin. *theatris sueta;* 4, 17 *suetus regibus Oriens;* 5, 14 fin. *Germanos fluminibus suetos.* — **aestibus**: i.e. *a warm climate*, etc., the use of the plural being like that of *frigus*, e.g. *Agr.* 12 *asperitas frigorum abest; Germ.* 16 fin. *rigorem frigorum.* — **obiacere**: from above Placentia to Cremona and below. Further down the Othonians held both banks, and Suetonius does not suggest that they should retire to the south bank. — **defensione**: rare in this literal mg., — only here in Tac. — **exploratum**: sc. *esse;* a principal clause introduced by a relative. — **proinde**: cf. on 1, 21 *proinde.* — **duceret**: sc. *Otho*, who was, of course, presiding. — **quartam decumam**: cf. 11. — **adfore**: the three legions from Moesia (III *Gallica*, VII *Claudia*, VIII *Augusta*) had already reached the Adriatic at Aquileia; cf. 46 fin. — **certaturos**: the subj. is left indefinite (not *se* alone; in *oratio recta* we should have *certabitur*); cf. 44 fin. *perituros.*

33. idem: the unanimity of his three most experienced generals did not prevent Otho from foolishly risking a battle at once. —

Titianus: recently arrived from Rome, to take over the chief command; cf. 23 fin. — **praefectus**: for Proculus' appointment by the praetorians themselves cf. 1, 46; he was an intimate friend of Otho (ib.). — **imperitia**: abl. cause; cf. 34 *inprudentia rueret.* — **numen**: a conveniently ambiguous term, which to some would mean only the *genius* (*δαίμων*); to others — the flatterers — it would suggest the divinity of the emperor. In the latter sense the word was strictly applicable only to a dead emperor who had been deified; but at Rome the Augustan poets started the fashion of applying it to the living ruler; cf. Hor. *C.* 4, 5, 34 f. — **neu**: for *et ne* of class. prose, since the connection is between main clauses, while the negative belongs to the subordinate. — **adulationem**: their reference to his *numen*, among other flatteries. — **postquam . . . placitum**: sc. *est;* cf. 1, 1 *postquam bellatum apud Actium.* — **seponi**: i.e. should be kept at a safe distance. — **dubitavere** = *deliberavere;* cf. 37 *dubitasse exercitus, num,* etc.; 39 *ibi de proelio dubitatum.* — **obiectare**: cf. *Ann.* 2, 5 *ut . . . Germanicum dolo simul et casibus obiectaret;* usually in the sense of *exprobrare.* — **Brixellum** = Brescello, on the right bank of the Po, 30 m.p. from Cremona, 40 from Regium Lepidum. It was on the road from Parma to Mantua. — **concederet**: he had come from Brixellum to attend the council of war, and now returned; cf. 39 init.; Suet. *Otho* 9 *nec ulli pugnae affuit substititque Brixelli;* Plut. *Otho* 10 *πάλιν εἰς Βριξιλλον ἀνεχώρησε.* — **summae rerum** = *supreme authority;* cf. 3, 70 *de summa rerum illic certaret* (i.e. for the imperial power); for a different mg. cf. 2, 81. — **imperii**: added to give clearer definition to the idea of the chief command. — **se ipsum**: emphasized for contrast with Titianus and the rest. — **speculatorum**: cf. on 1, 24 *speculatori.* — **discessit**: they had come with Otho from Brixellum. — **et ipse**: cf. on 1, 42 *et ipso.*

34. ut: cf. on 1, 4 *ut erga principem.* — **transfugiis**: for the abstract cf. on 1, 39 fin. *diffugia.* — **et . . . non**: cf. on 32 *et . . . non.* — **diversa**: the mg. is fixed by the contrast with *sua;* cf. 75 *ex diverso.* — **inprudentia**: cf. 33 *imperitia properantes.* — **ponte**: below the mouth of the Adua, and *ca.* 5 m.p. above Cremona. — **gladiatorum**: those commanded by Martius Macer, on the right bank; cf. 23. — **ac ne**: for coördination of *simulantes* with a *ne*-clause cf. Intr. 13. — **segne otium**: at first a poetical

metaphor, but also employed by orators. Quint. compares it with *praeceps ira* and *hilaris adolescentia* (8, 6, 27); cf. 4, 5 *segne otium;* 4, 70 *segne plerumque otium trahens;* *Ann.* 14, 39 fin. *honestum pacis nomen segni otio imposuit.* — **utrimque**: on the adv. with attributive position and force cf. on 15 *iuxta;* he means at bow and stern. — **adversum . . . dirigebantur** = *were headed upstream.* — **super**: in the sense of *supra* = *upstream;* others take it in the sense of *insuper.* — **extenti** = *taut.* — **turris**: so Caesar, wishing to prevent the use of his second Rhine bridge by the Germans, broke down 200 feet of it, nearest the right bank, and erected a four-story tower at the end, — *in extremo ponte turrim tabulatorum quattuor constituit,* *B.G.* 6, 29, 3. Caecina and Valens have no immediate intention of completing the bridge; cf. above, *transitum Padi simulantes;* but cf. also 41 init. — **tormentis ac machinis**: cf. 3, 20 fin. *advectis tormentis machinisque.* — **faces**: according to Plutarch *Otho* 10, the Othonians succeeded in setting fire to the Flavians' boats, which capsized in the panic, — evidently pontoons to lengthen the bridge, but not yet in position.

35. insula: above Cremona, but below the mouth of the Adua (= Adda); probably above the bridge of boats. — **navibus**: in contrast with *nando.* — **molientes**: i.e. toiling at their oars; contrasted with the ease implied in *praelabebantur,* from which *vehebantur* is to be supplied by zeugma. — **praelabebantur**: i.e. *praeveniebant.* The Germans — mostly Batavians (cf. 17), and expert swimmers - crossed obliquely, no doubt, from a point considerably above the island, while the gladiators tried to steer directly across the current. — **plures transgressos**: translate by a temporal clause. — **Liburnicis**: cf. on 16 *Liburnicarum.* — **militibus**: i.e. soldiers in general. — **perinde . . . quam**: cf. on 27 init. — **nutantes**: general, like *militibus,* — i.e. men rocking in boats. — **stabili gradu**: i.e. men who have a firm footing on the bank; but not abl. qual. (as in Boeth. *Cons.* 1, 1, 22 *stabili non erat ille gradu*); with the abl. phrase a ptcp. would be expected, — here boldly omitted; cf. Livy 6, 12, 8 *obnixos . . . stabili gradu.* Cf. Curt. 8, 11, 13 *instabili et lubrico gradu praecipites recidebant.* — **vulnera**: poetic for *ictus;* cf. Intr. 19; *Aen.* 10, 140 *vulnera derigere;* 5, 433 *inter se vulnera iactant.* — **propug-**

natores: the gladiators. — **ultro**: for its use of one who takes the offensive cf. on 1, 7 *ultro*. — **comminus**: i.e. *manibus*. — **in oculis**: sc. *acta;* cf. 1, 37 *in oculis*. — **utriusque exercitus**: meaning, however, only detachments, for the main body of the Vitellians and Othonians were at Cremona and Bedriacum respectively. — **auctorem**: i.e. Macer; cf. 36.

36. ad exitium poscebatur: a frequent occurrence in the disorders of the revolution year; cf. 3, 10 *iam pridem invisus turbine quodam ad exitium poscebatur*. — **cum**: on *cum inversum* cf. on 1, 29 init. — **Flavius Sabinus**: cf. on 1, 77; distinguished from Vespasian's brother, the *praefectus urbi*, by the addition of *consulem designatum*. — **copiis**: cf. on 1, 22 *Othoni*. — **ad**: cf. on 8 fin. *ad celebritatem nominis*. — **ducibus**: note the chiasmus, which balances *milite* with *militiam*. — **infestam** = *dangerous, threatening;* i.e. the command of *tam infesti milites*. — **militiam** = *service*, i.e. *command*. The collective sense of *militia* (= *milites*) is so very rare that its use here is improbable, tempting as it is, in view of *infestam* and the chiasmus.

37. invenio: observe the elaborate, periodic style of this chapter, in marked contrast with the narrative. It suggests the style of the *Dialogus;* Intr. 7 and 14. — **auctores**: the same (source, or) sources were used by Plut. *Otho* 9. — **dubitasse** = *deliberasse;* cf. on 33 *dubitavere*. — **num** = *whether they should not;* cf. 83 *num . . . clauderet*. — **in medium**: cf. 5 *in medium consuluere*. — **senatui**, etc.: cf. 1, 12 *senatui ac populo Romano arbitrium eligendi permittere*. — **vetustissimus**: it was 27 years since his first consulship; on his career in general, his achievements in Britain, etc., cf. on 1, 87. — **ut . . . ita** = *though . . . yet;* cf. on 1, 4 *ut . . . et;* with potential subjv., 2, 50. — **concesserim**: for the potential subjv. cf. on 1, 83 fin. *crediderim*. — **pacem belli amore**, etc.: this rhetorical figure (antimetabole) is very rare in Tac.; cf. 3, 33 *quo minus stupra caedibus, caedes stupris miscerentur;* Sen. *Ep.* 104, 26 *non quia difficilia sunt, non audemus, sed quia non audemus, difficilia sunt*. — **passuros**: sc. *fuisse;* a frequent ellipse in the *Annals;* cf. *Ann.* 4, 18 *neque mansurum* [*fuisse*] *Tiberio imperium, si . . . fuisset*.

38. vetus, etc.: in this chapter also Tac. and Plut. (*Otho* 9) must have drawn from the same source. Tac. has in mind the language

of Sall. *Cat.* 10 init. and *Hist.* l.c. below; also Thuc. 3, 82. — **aequalitas:** so in a similar digression on the origin of laws, *Ann.* 3, 26 *at postquam exui aequalitas et pro modestia ac pudore ambitio et vis incedebat,* etc. — **urbibus:** such as Carthage and Corinth. — **regibus:** as those of Macedonia, Syria, etc. — **vacuum fuit:** imitated from Sall. *Hist.* 1, fr. 12 M. *postquam remoto metu Punico simultates exercere vacuum fuit, plurimae turbae, seditiones et ad postremum bella civilia orta sunt,* etc. — **inter patres plebemque:** Tac. passes over the older struggles of patricians and plebeians to speak of the far more serious clash of interests between rich and poor, retaining, however, the old party names. Cf. S. Augustine, *C. D.* 1, 30. — **turbulenti tribuni:** the Gracchi, Saturninus, Drusus; cf *Ann.* 3, 27 *hinc Gracchi et Saturnini, turbatores plebis, nec minor largitor . . . Drusus.* — **consules praevalidi:** e.g. L. Opimius, cos. 121, who is said to have caused the death of three thousand partisans of C. Gracchus, and then rebuilt the Temple of Concord! Cf. Plut. *C. Gracch.* 17 fin., 18; App. *B.C.* 1, 26.— **temptamenta:** i.e. *prelude,* meaning the struggles precipitated by the Gracchi. — **e plebe infima:** in agreement both with Plut. *Marius* 3, and Vell. 2, 128 *ignotae originis.* In Vell. 2, 11 the Mss. read *natus equestri loco,* but the emendation *agresti* is sustained by the following phrase, *hirtus atque horridus.* — **et nunquam** = *nec unquam;* cf. on 32 *et nullo.* — **quaesitum** = *certatum;* cf. *Ann.* 2, 74 *inter Vibium Marsum et Cn. Sentium diu quaesitum.* — **in Pharsalia:** cf. on 1, 50 *Pharsaliam.* — **posituri bellum:** *ponere bellum* (= *deponere*) is the opposite of *sumere bellum* (on the analogy of *sumere arma*); cf. Livy 8, 4, 3 *bellis . . . ponendis sumendisque; Hist.* 2, 52 *posito ubique bello;* 3, 31 *cum bellum posuissent;* 4, 70, 72; 3, 43 *bellum sponte sumebant;* 4, 66 *bellum sumpsimus.* — **ignavia:** cf. on 7 *ignaviam;* cf. 60 *pietate et ignavia excusatus;* 94 *super insitam animo ignaviam.* — **venio:** the usual formulas of return after digression have *redeo;* cf. *Ann.* 12, 40 fin. *ad temporum ordinem redeo;* ib. 4, 33 fin. *sed ad inceptum redeo.* Here Tac. appears to have purposely departed from stereotyped phraseology.

39. profecto: cf. on 33 *concederet.* — **praetendebantur:** the figure is from a cloak or other covering; translate *were scapegoats for,* etc. — **ambigui:** not *wavering,* or *divided* (since the *quod*-clause presupposes a certain agreement), but *not to be depended upon;* cf. 3, 35

ne . . . ambigue [i.e. *dubia fide*] *agerent;* 4, 56 *inter ambiguos milites et occultos hostes.* — **interpretari**: i.e. *criticise.* — **ad quartum**: sc. *lapidem;* cf. 24 *ad duodecumum.* — **a Bedriaco**: cf. on 23 *Bedriacum.* But the old camp was still maintained, with Gallus in command; cf. 44. — **quanquam**: cf. on 1, 83 *quanquam.* — **verno tempore**: the middle of April. — **circum**: on the attributive position and use cf. on 15 *iuxta.* — **fatigarentur**: naturally not on the same day; cf. *PAPA.* XL, lxv fin. — **dubitatum** = *deliberatum;* cf. on 33 *dubitavere.* — **trans Padum agentes**: the troops with Otho, and the gladiators now commanded by Flavius Sabinus; cf. 33, 36.

40. ad bellandum: i.e. with all their baggage. It was the next day (Plut. *Otho* 11). Titianus and Proculus seem to have assumed that the Vitellians, hindered by the enmity of Caecina and Valens, were not ready to fight. As for themselves, they did not plan a battle on this day, until after Otho's messenger arrived (see below). — **confluentes Padi et Aduae**: the Adua (or Addua, now Adda) empties into the Po about 7 m.p. above Cremona. — **XXV inde milium**; the Mss. have *sedecim,* probably a confusion of XXV with XVI, the latter figure being irreconcilable with the rest of the narrative. The position at the mouth of the Adda was strategic, if the Vitellians were to be inclosed, and their communications with the north and west severed; but it could not be safely occupied, and the inclosure begun, with the present troops of the Othonians; and they were too impatient to wait for the reënforcements already approaching. Titianus and Proculus were ready to carry out their rash plan to march past Cremona, when the arrival of Otho's messenger decided them to attack the enemy instead. — **abnuentibus**: i.e. before they broke camp. — **quo minus**: for *quin,* as often in Tac.; cf. 1, 18; *Agr.* 20 *nihil . . . quietum pati, quo minus,* etc.; ib. 27 fin. *nihil ex adrogantia remittere, quo minus,* etc. The subordinate clause is really of equal importance with the main clause, to which it stands in an adversative relation. Cf. below, 45 *nec . . . dubitatum, quo minus; Ann.* 1, 21. — **vix quattuor milia**: i.e. the assumed radius of the semicircle which the Othonians would describe in passing from the Via Postumia around to the north of Cremona and the Vitellian lines. At any point along that semicircle they would be liable to a flank attack. — **vallum**: i.e. at the confluence of the Adda and the Po. Paulinus and Celsus are conceding

for the sake of argument that the reckless flank-march has actually been accomplished. — **vincerentur**: for the iterative subjv. cf. on 1, 10 *vacaret*. — **aderat**: while they were still debating; cf. Plut. *Otho* 11. — **citus equo**: cf. 1, 40 *rapidi equis*. — **atrocibus** = *summary, threatening;* cf. 1, 53 *atrocibus edictis*. According to Plut. l.c. Otho ordered them to attack the enemy at once. — **spei inpatiens**: cf. 99 *inpatiens solis*, etc.; *Ann.* 4, 3 *inpatiens aemuli;* ib. 72 *obsequii inpatientes;* 12, 30 *obsidionis inpatientes*.

41. eodem die: 14th April. — **pontis**: cf. on 34 *ponte*. — **cum**: on the *cum inversum* cf. on 1, 29 init. — **vel**: subordinated to *an;* i.e. the second member of the ind. quest. offers alternatives: if not treachery towards Otho, they may have planned something that was not dishonorable. — **coeptaverint**: the sequence is what would be expected if *incertum est* had preceded, i.e. the mind passes from the contemporary view to the judgment of history; cf. on 1, 7 *nequiverint;* 2, 46 fin. *dubitet*. — **revectus**: he had five or six miles to ride. — **in castra**: the main camp, east of Cremona; cf. 3, 26. — **agminis**: they were to march out and then form their *acies*, but position in the column would determine that in the line. — **equites prorupere**: the battle opens with a charge by the Vitellian cavalry, brilliantly repulsed by the Othonians. According to a speech in 3, 2, *duae tunc Pannonicae ac Moesicae alae perrupere hostem* (sc. *equites Vitellianos*). — **Italicae**: cf. on 1, 59 *Italica;* this legion was evidently at the head of the *agmen*, marching out. It does not seem to have had a place in the *acies*, but probably formed a reserve. In the center along the Via Postumia were German auxiliaries, with XXI *Rapax* on the right, and V *Alaudae* on the left (cf. 42 fin., 43). The cavalry, after their first rout, no doubt took their position on the wings. — **arbustis**: cf. the obstacles at *locus Castorum*, 25; also 42 *per locos arboribus ac vineis inpeditos*. — **vehicula**: having broken camp at the 4th milestone from Bedriacum (cf. 39) they had brought their baggage train. — **lixae**: cf. on 1, 49 *lixas*. — **via**: sc. *Postumia;* cf. 24 *viae*, and on 23 *Bedriacum*. — **signa**: the incomplete formation of the Othonian line appears to have been this: in the center the praetorians, along the Postumia, with German auxiliaries in reserve; on the right the XIIIth legion, with a *vexillum* of the XIVth, and probably other detachments; on the left, towards the Po, the Ist *Adiutrix*, with further legionaries; cf.

43 f. — **adcurrentium**: cf. on 26 *fugientes occursantes.* — **ut cuique**, etc.: with the threefold antithesis contrast Livy's *animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat*, 22, 5, 8 (at the Trasimene).

42. falsum gaudium = *an unfounded joy = a disappointment;* cf. 4, 38 *falsos pavores;* 4, 46 *falso timori.* The three states of mind — *terror, gaudium, languor* — swiftly succeed one another. — **dispersus**: for the omission of *sit* in ind. quest. cf. on 23 *acta.* — **ultro**: cf. on 1, 7 *ultro.* — **plerisque . . . ignaris**: dat., as in 66 *his fiduciam et metum Batavis fecissent.* — **quae causa**: sc. *esset;* cf. on *dispersus* above. — **impeditos**: cf. 25 fin. — **facies**: i.e. *species;* cf. 1, 85 *facies belli;* 2, 89 fin. *decora facies.* — **comminus eminus**: cf. on 41 fin. *adcurrentium.* — **catervis**: abl. manner = *per catervas*, etc.; cf. 3, 29 *dum nituntur cuneis; Ann.* 4, 51 *catervis decurrentes; cuneus* is here loosely used for a column. — **in aggere viae**: sc. *Postumiae;* cf. 24 fin. *aggerem viae;* here apparently were the praetorians at first (cf. on 41 *signa*), opposite German auxiliaries, who were armed with *secures* (cf. below). But according to Plut. *Otho* 12 fin. the praetorians (whose position neither he nor Tac. states) did not wait for the enemy to come to close quarters, but fled incontinently. The gap was probably filled by Otho's German auxiliaries from Rome, who recognized former comrades among their antagonists. — **noscentes inter se**: this could not apply to praetorians, nor to other than German auxiliaries.

43. patenti campo: cf. the 2d battle of Bedriacum, when the XIIIth legion was *in ipso viae Postumiae aggere* and VII *Galbiana* stood *patenti campo* (3, 21). — **duae legiones**: according to Plut. *Otho* 12, the only legions which fought in regular formation for any length of time. — **unaetvicensima**: cf. on 1, 61 *ducebat.* — **prima**: cf. on 1, 6 *e classe.* — **non ante**, etc.: in the engagement at *locus Castorum* (24) this legion had a position *dextra fronte,* but there was no chance for serious fighting. — **ferox**: cf. on 1, 59 *ferox.* — **principiis** = *primis ordinibus.* — **interfecto**: on the aoristic pctp. cf. on 1, 20 *relicta;* Intr. 12. — **C. Orfidius Benignus**: cf. 45 fin.; Plut. *Otho* 12. — **a parte alia**: on the Othonian right, beyond the road. — **tertia decuma**: at *locus Castorum* (24) only a *vexillum* was present, but by this time probably the rest of the legion had arrived with the *legatus,* Vedius Aquila (44). Suetonius' father was

at the time a tribune of this legion, and present at this battle, *Otho* 10. — **quartadecumani**: i.e. a *vexillum* only; that the body of the legion had not yet arrived is proved by 66 *vexillariis tantum pulsis vires legionis non adfuisse.* — **subsidiis**: referring mainly, perhaps, to I *Italica;* cf. on 41 *Italicae.* — **Varus**: cf. 29. — **Batavis**: cavalry; cf. Plut. *Otho* 12. — **fusa gladiatorum manu**: not to be confused with the story of 35. — **latus**: naturally that nearer to the river, the left flank, i.e. I *Adiutrix;* for the acc. with *invehi* cf. 1, 40 *forum irrumpunt.*

44. media acie: i.e. the German auxiliaries who had taken the position of the routed praetorians; cf. on 42 *in aggere viae.* — **passim** = *pell-mell* (but all in the same direction). — **Bedriacum**: the nearer camp at the 4th milestone had been dismantled; cf. 40 init. — **inmensum**: assuming that the battle was fought within four miles of Cremona, the distance would be about 18 m.p.; cf. on 23 *Bedriacum.* — **neque . . . in praedam vertuntur**: since there is no market for such slaves; cf. 3, 34 fin. — **diversis** = *different;* naturally they would keep away from the Postumia. — **Vedius Aquila**: he is still *legatus* of this legion in 3, 7. — **inconsultus**: in contrast with the prudence of Paulinus and Proculus. — **manibus**: meton. — **desertorem proditoremque**: cf. Intr. 14; *ut* would be expected. — **crimine . . . obiectantes**: for the variety cf. Intr. 13. — **Annius Gallus**: still in command of the camp at Bedriacum, doubtless because he had not yet recovered from his fall; cf. 33 init. — **super** = *praeter;* cf. on 1, 8 *super.* — **suismet ipsi**: the frequent substitution of *ipsi* (*ipse*, etc.) for the logical *ipsorum;* common in Livy, and found even in Cic., e.g. *de Orat.* 2, 8 *ex scriptis . . . ipsi suis.* Cf. *Hist.* 3, 16 fin. *suomet ipsi metu.* — **non virtute**, etc.: cf. *Agr.* 27 *non virtute se, sed occasione et arte ducis victos rati.* — **proditione**: referring perhaps to the incident mentioned in 42 *omisso pugnae ardore . . . metum proditionis fecere.* The *metus proditionis* has now become *proditio.* — **ne . . . quidem** = *not . . . either;* cf. on 1, 29 fin. — **pulso**: cf. 41. — **rapta . . . aquila**: cf. 43. — **militum quod . . . fuerit**: cf. 55 *quod erat in urbe militum;* 4, 15 *et quod militum; Ann.* 14, 32 fin. *legionem, et quod peditum interfecit;* possibly *Germ.* 15 *vel armentorum vel frugum quod . . . subvenit;* found in Caes. and Livy. — **trans Padum**: cf. 33, 39 fin. — **Moesicas legiones**: cf. 32 fin. — **magnam . . . partem**: beside

the camp garrison, no doubt uncommonly large, since Bedriacum was the base of operations, there were probably fresh arrivals from Pannonia and Dalmatia, perhaps the detachments of VII *Galbiana* and XI *Claudia;* cf. 11. — **si ita ferret**: a very rare expression; class. Latin would require a subject, *res* or *fors;* cf. *Ann.* 3, 15 *sociam . . . et, si ita ferret comitem.* — **perituros**: the subj. is indefinite, i.e. *se* and the others (not *hos*); cf. 32 fin. *certaturos.* — **ad . . . in**: cf. Intr. 13.

45. ad quintum: this respectful distance is explained by the fact that they were to bivouac in the open plain. — **castrorum**: by this time the camp at Bedriacum must have been thoroughly fortified. — **sperabatur**: in class. Latin it would have been *deditionem sperabant.* — **expeditis**, etc.: hence without the necessary tools for fortification. — **dubitatum, quo minus**: one would expect *quin*, or, if the personal constr. had been used, the inf.; cf. on 40 *quo minus.* For a typical example of adversative *quin* cf. Livy 33, 36, 12 *nec ultra sustinuere certamen Galli, quin terga verterent*, etc.; Ter. *Phorm.* 972. For *quo minus* cf. *Ann.* 5, 5 *nec ultra deliberatum, quo minus*, etc. — **legati**: Celsus and Gallus according to Plut. *Otho* 13. — **an**: cf. on 1, 8 *an.* — **in lacrimas effusi**: cf. *Ann.* 3, 23 *effusi in lacrimas;* Livy 44, 31, 13 *ad preces lacrimasque effusus;* Suet. *Aug.* 98 *in iocos effusus est; Cal.* 32 *effusus subito in cachinnos.* — **misera laetitia**: oxymoron. The whole pass. is highly rhetorical. — **isdem tentoriis**: cf. on 1, 55 *hibernis.* — **in ambiguo, certa**: note chiasmus combined with variety; Intr. 13; for *in ambiguo* cf. on 1, 37 *in incerto.* — **Orfidii legati**: cf. 43. — **super humum** = *humi.*

46. opperiebatur: at Brixellum (cf. 39), only 30 m.p. from Cremona. The news must therefore have reached him the same evening (14th Apr.). Tac. gives no indication of time until the next evening, 49 *vesperascente die;* but we may assign 46–47 to the evening of the 14th, 48–49 init. to the night and the next morning. — **consilii certus**: cf. *Ann.* 12, 32 *destinationis certum; Dial.* 13 *incertus futuri;* poetic and silver Latin; cf. below, 83 *ambiguus consilii.* — **maesta**: poetic personification of *fama.* — **militum**: for the troops with Otho cf. 33 fin. — **haberet**: for the class. *habere;* old Latin had used *iubeo* with subjv. paratactic; cf. Ter. *Haut.* 737 *iube maneat.* — **ire . . . flagrabrant**: for the poetic constr. cf. Intr. 16. — **furore . . . et instinctu**: not hendiadys, though the translator may treat

it as such; cf. 1, 57 fin. *instinctu et impetu; Ann.* 14, 16 *non impetu et instinctu.* — **Plotius Firmus**: cf. 1, 46; he is in command at Brixellum. — **fidissimum**: it is still night; in the morning (15th) they were ready to desert Otho. — **maiore animo**: for the emphasis on the opening phrase cf. on 1, 56 fin. *minore discrimine;* 2, 20 *in nullius iniuriam.* — **ut** = *prout;* cf. 10 *prout potens*, etc. — **flexerat**: an intimation that he might yield to persuasion. — **clamor** = *applause.* — **praetoriani**: sc. *ita perseverabant* — a telescoping of the first clause with the second; cf. Intr. 26 fin. — **legiones**: cf. 32 fin. — **dubitet**: sequence is necessarily violated, to introduce the judgment of history; cf. 41 *coeptaverint.* As matters stood that night, the war could have been renewed. But the surrender of the troops at Bedriacum the next day (45) without consulting Otho, precluded any such possibility.— **potuisse**: the acc. and inf. is used with *non dubitare* even in the *Dial.* (18). Though avoided by Cic. and Caes. it is found in letters, e.g. from Trebonius to Cic. (12, 16, 2), from Cic. jr. to Tiro (16, 21, 2), in Nepos, Hirtius, and freq. in Livy.

47. experti, etc.: the friendship of Nero, and then disgrace, the sudden rise to power, followed by a sudden fall, — all these experiences have left nothing more to be discovered, either by fortune as to his mettle, or by himself as to her favors. — **nec** = *neve;* cf. on 1, 84 *nec;* and *nec* below. — **conputaveritis**: indef. subj. — **felicitati**: dat. with *temperare* = *cum temperantia uti;* cf. 3, 31 *qui nupe Bedriaci victoriae temperassent;* for another use of *temperare* with dat. cf. 1, 69. — **civile bellum . . . coepit**: the thought is then repeated in another form to give symmetry to the period (four members); cf. Intr. 14. — **illinc** = *from that quarter;* cf. *Ann.* 15, 33 *ind initium fore; Hist.* 3, 14 *initio a quinta legione orto.* — **fratre**, etc. cf. 1, 88; 2, 64; 1, 75; the mother (1, 75; 2, 64) is omitted, as th most extravagant *ultio* would hardly extend to her. — **solaciis** hendiadys with *ultione*, i.e. *the consolation of vengeance;* the on term covers the external act, the other its subjective interpreta tion; cf. on 19 *metum ac discrimen;* on 30 *cunctationibus.* — **tenu erint**: concession. — **reliquerit** = *may leave it;* potential of presen time; cf. 1, 79 *obstiterit.* — **Romanae pubis**: i.e. esp. the praetor ans; cf. 1, 84 *Romana vere iuventus.* — **tanquam**, etc.: here a sub stitute for the *obliqua;* cf. on 1, 8 *tanquam . . . fovissent.* —

pars = *a proof;* used several times by Tac. in this sense; cf. *Agr.* 21 fin. *cum pars servitutis esset; Hist.* 3, 46 fin. *pars consilii pacisque erat.* — **nemine:** instead of the usual *nullo;* the rare abl. of *nemo* is also found in *Ann.* 16, 27 *nemine nominatim compellato.*

48. irent . . . asperarent: governed by *appellatos;* with his kind words (*comiter*) were mingled words of counsel. — **asperarent** = *exasperarent;* cf. Intr. 17. — **naves:** to bear them down the Po, or across, on their way to Bedriacum. — **libellos** = *petitions.* — **L. Salvius Otho Cocceianus:** according to Plut. *Otho* 16, Otho planned to adopt his nephew after the war; for his fate see below. — **ultro** = *actually;* cf. on 1, 7 *ultro.* — **laudando:** cf. on 29 *iactando.* — **an Vitellium . . . fore:** rhetorical question; cf. on 1, 50 *ituros.* — **tota domo:** cf. 47. — **poscente:** true only of the praetorians and *speculatores* at Brixellum. But Otho is still unaware of the surrender of Titianus and the rest at Bedriacum. — **Servios:** meaning Galba, whose *praenomen* Servius was peculiar to the Sulpician family. — **neu patruum,** etc.: cf. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall,* chap. 40, "Hypatius and Pompey, two patricians, who could neither forget with honour, nor remember with safety, that they were the nephews of the emperor Anastasius," — one of Gibbon's many imitations of Tac. — **nimium meminisset:** according to Suet. he was put to death by Domitian, *quod Othonis imperatoris patrui sui diem natalem celebraverat* (*Dom.* 10). Tac. is fond of hinting at coming calamities; cf. 59 fin., 70 med. and fin., 90 fin.

49. post quae = *postea;* so *inter quae* = *interea* 4, 46, etc. — **volutantem:** cf. on 1, 30 *volvit.* — **consternatione:** cf. 1, 83 fin. *consternatione proxima.* — **abeuntibus:** who they were, is shown by *iam profectos amicos,* below. — **Verginius:** he is at present consul; cf. 1, 77; for his record cf. on 1, 8; below, 51. — **digrederentur:** purpose. — **vesperascente die** = *vesperi;* the verb is very rare; cf. *Ann.* 1, 65; 16, 34. By this time Otho must have been informed of the surrender of Titianus and the rest, but Tac. refrains from mentioning the fact, since the motive of self-renunciation is essential to his carefully constructed tragedy. — **gelidae:** i.e. *ice-cold,* a detail omitted by Plut. *Otho* 17, but preserved by Suet. 11. — **duobus:** without Ms. authority, but restored with certainty from *utrumque, alterum,* — also Plut. and Suet. ll.cc.

Cf. Suet. *Nero* 49. — **capiti**: cf. Intr. 20. — **explorato**: cf. 3, 20 *nisi explorato;* 1, 84 fin. *auspicato;* this impers. abl. abs. with a whole clause was very rare before Livy; cf. 4, 36 *conperto pecuniam . . . missam;* for acc. and inf. with *explorare* cf. 4, 82 fin. *explorat . . . afuisse;* above, 32 fin. *nullam . . . cessuram . . . exploratum* [*esse*]. — **luce prima**: 16th April, — the second morning after the battle. — **pectore**: again avoiding too great precision; cf. Suet. *Otho* 11 *infra laevam papillam.* — **ambitiosis** = *importunate;* the self-interest involved in *ambitio* has here to do with possible indignities to his remains; cf. Cic. *Ep.* 6, 12, 2 *ambitiosae rogationes;* Cod. Theod. 14, 3, 20 *occultis vel ambitiosis . . . precibus;* Quint. 6, 3, 68 *qui provinciam ambitiosissime petierat.* — **exosculantes**: cf. on 1, 45 *exosculari.* — **noxa**: i.e. a sense of guilt, of duty undone towards Otho. — **ob metum**: i.e. from the Vitellians. — **promisce**: cf. 1, 47 *promisce iacta.* — **sepulchrum**: at Brixellum; Plut. had seen it, and gives the brief inscription, *Otho* 18. Vitellius visited the tomb, and after insolently remarking *dignum eo mausoleo* [*illum fuisse*], sent the *pugio* to Cologne, to be placed in its temple of Mars; Suet. *Vit.* 10. — **mansurum**: i.e. on account of its modesty. — **finem**, etc.: the date of Otho's death (16th Apr.) is determined by Josephus' statement that he reigned three months and two days (i.e. from 15th Jan.; *B. I.* 4, 9, 9). Suet.'s "95th day" is reckoned to the date when the news reached Rome, *Otho* 11; cf. below, 55.

50. Ferentium: in Etruria, now Férento, north of Viterbo. That this is the correct form of the name is shown by inscriptions, e.g. *CIL.* XI, 2710 a, 3003. Among other extant remains is a primitive theater. Cf. Suet. *Otho* 1 *oppido Ferentio.* — **pater**: L. Salvius Otho, cos. suff. in 33; procos. Africae; cf. Suet. *Otho* 1, *Galba* 6. — **avus**: M. Salvius Otho, son of a knight, but was made senator by the favor of the empress Livia; Suet. *Otho* 1. — **maternum genus**: his mother, Albia Terentia, was evidently of the equestrian order; Suet. l.c. — **monstravimus**: viz. in 1, 13. — **facinoribus**: in the colorless sense. — **egregio**: not merely for the courage he displayed, but for his patriotism in forestalling any attempts to prolong the civil war. — **ut . . . ita**: cf. on 37 *ut . . . ita;* 1, 4. — **crediderim . . . ausim**: cf. on 1, 83 fin. *crediderim.* — **Bedriaci**: in spite of the distance at which the battle

took place Tac. uses the loc. instead of *apud B.* — **Regium Lepidum:** 17 m.p. S.E. of Brixellum, on the Via Aemilia, between Parma and Mutina (17 m.p. from the latter), now Reggio. — **celebri luco:** for the abl. alone cf. on 1, 55 *hibernis.* — **deinde** = *from that time on;* cf. 85 fin. *nec deinde civili bello interfuit.* — **ex oculis:** cf. on 1, 37 *in oculis.* — **reputantibus:** an extension of the use of the dat. in indicating directions (not in Cic.), e.g. left, or right, *intranti,* etc. Livy rarely uses the dat. of the person judging, reckoning, etc., but Tac. has it frequently; cf. *Agr.* 11 and *Germ.* 6 *in universum aestimanti; Hist.* 3, 8 *reputantibus;* 4, 17 *vere reputantibus.* This Graecism (?) never became common except with Tac. — **exitu:** the "passing of Otho" began with the morning of the battle. At that time the strange bird appeared, and remained until the morning of the 16th. For this wider sense of *exitus* cf. 5 *exitu demum Neronis.* — **competisse** = *congruisse.*

51. novata: cf. Intr. 17. — **dolore:** anger was no doubt now increased by news of the surrender at Bedriacum. — **modo . . . nunc:** the same variation 3, 85; cf. 2, 74 *modo . . . aliquando.* — **aversam . . . partem:** Intr. 20. — **Rubrius Gallus:** general of Nero against Galba, to whom he deserted (Dio 63, 27); for his leanings towards Vespasian cf. below 99. In 70 he was rewarded by the governorship of Moesia (Joseph. *B. I.* 7, 4, 3). — **concedentibus:** for the abl. abs. loosely appended cf. Intr. 7; here it is practically an unrelated fact. — **Flavius Sabinus:** cf. 36 fin.

52–73. Vitellius, still in Gaul, succeeds Otho. His first months are a *mélange* of lavish feasts, executions, pardons, appointments, a disgraceful progress into and through Italy, a revolting visit to the field of Bedriacum.

52. posito: cf. on 38 *posituri bellum.* — **ubique:** Tac. evidently thought it unnecessary to mention the surrender of Placentia by Spurinna, which must have directly followed that of Bedriacum. — **ab urbe:** cf. 1, 88. — **Mutĭna** = Módena, 17 m.p. east of Regium, on the Aemilia, 25 m.p. from Bononia (Bologna). — **vultum habitumque:** cf. 1, 14 fin. *vultu habituque.* — **in deterius:** often equivalent to a result clause, a usage beginning with Sall. and Livy; cf. 3, 13 *omnia de Vitellio in deterius;* 4, 68 *cuncta in deterius audita.* — **conviciis . . . ac probris:** the same phrase 1, 47. —

utrimque: i.e. they have something to fear from both sides. — **nemo**, etc.: for this amplification after the verb cf. 7 *arma . . . distulere, Vespasianus Mucianusque nuper, ceteri olim mixtis consiliis.* — **tutior**: sc. *unus quisque*, to be supplied, as often, from *nemo;* cf. on 1, 1 *dicendus.* — **ordo**: the *ordo decurionum*, or municipal senate; they were sometimes even called *senatores*. The usual number was 100, and the list was revised every five years by the *quinquennales*, or local censors; cf. Pauly-W. IV, s.v. *decurio.* — **intempestivo**: the senators would gladly have posed as a mere company of friends, who had attended the emperor. Any official act of theirs as *patres conscripti* would compromise them either with the unruly Othonian soldiers or with the Vitellians.

53. P. Licinius Caecina: lately admitted to the senate, probably by Galba; see below. He reached the praetorship later; cf. Plin. *N. H.* 20, 199. — **T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus**: a self-made man, eminent as an orator, but notorious as an informer. For accusing Paetus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus he received from Nero 5,000,000 sesterces. He was praetor for one day under Claudius (48), governor of Lycia, twice cos. suff. (*ca.* 60 and 74), procos. Asiae (70–73); a friend of Vespasian, but for conspiring against him he was forced to commit suicide, 79. Cf. *Dial.* 5, 8; *Ann.* 12, 4 fin.; 13, 33 fin.; 16, 22 fin., 26 ff., 33; *Hist.* 4, 6 ff., 43; Dio 66, 16 fin.; *CIL.* X, 3853 (from Capua, his birthplace). — **nec** = *not . . . either*, like *ne . . . quidem.* — **expositum ad**: the poetic and silver Latin sense of *exponere*, for class. *obicere;* cf. on 30 *expositos;* Verg. *Aen.* 10, 693 f. *obvia ventorum furiis expostaque ponto;* for the use of *ad* cf. Cic. *Ep.* 6, 4, 3 *ad omnis casus . . . obiecti sumus.* — **claresceret**: cf. Intr. 17. — **Bononia** = Bologna, on the Via Aemilia, S.E. of Mutina. — **consiliaturi**: the rare but class. *consiliari* occurs chiefly in ptcpp. — **medio temporis**: cf. on 1, 62 *medio diei.* — **sperabantur**, etc.: for the class. *plures nuntios sperabant;* cf. 45 *sperabatur;* 74 *legiones secuturae sperabantur.* — **recentissimum quemque** = *every new arrival.* — **relictum**: probably on the evening of the 15th. — **sola . . . cura**: abl. manner. — **blandimentis**: cf. *Ann.* 15, 64 *blandimentis vitae evictam.*

54. L. Vitellius: cf. 1, 88 for his departure from Rome with Otho. — **cum . . . perculit**: cf. on 1, 29 *cum adfertur.* — **atroci**:

as reviving their fears and uncertainties. — **quartae decumae**: cf. 32 fin. — **a Brixello**: note the attributive position; cf. on 15 *iuxta*. — **diplomata**: a folded sheet of papyrus, or parchment (esp. in later times), bearing the emperor's signature and seal, was called *diploma;* it entitled the bearer for a certain time to all the facilities afforded by the post (*cursus publicus*). As a rule such transportation was furnished only to officials. Cf. 65 *eoque diplomatibus nullum principem praescripsisset;* Plin. *Ep.* 10, 45 f., etc. — **neglegebantur** = *were no longer honored.* — **paucos post dies**: in reality some time must have elapsed before Vitellius could hear of the incident, and his order reach Rome. It has been plausibly conjectured that what Tac. wrote was *iniussu Vitellii* (Spengel). — **poenas luit**: he no doubt had some deeper motive than the desire to travel rapidly at state expense. — **publici consilii**: contrast with 52 fin. *nemo privatim expedito consilio.* — **facie** = *specie;* cf. 1, 13 *specie legationis;* 30 *specie liberalitatis.* — **discessum**: sc. *foret* (= *esset*) from *forent.* — **in commune**: cf. on 1, 25 fin. — **epistulae** = *litterae;* cf. on 1, 67 *epistulis.*

55. **Ceriales ludi**: the *Cerialia* began on the 12th and culminated on the 19th with *ludi circenses;* cf. *Ann.* 15, 53 *circensium ludorum die, qui Cereri celebratur;* ib. 74; Ovid, *Fast.* 4, 679 f. It was on this final day of the feast that the news reached Rome. — **cessisse**: may be for the cpd. *concessisse,* — a freq. euphemism; cf. Intr. 17; *Ann.* 4, 38 *quandoque concessero;* 13, 30 fin. *egregia fama concessit;* euphemism was, of course, necessary at the festival. Or the verb may be used in the sense in which Tac. puts it into the mouth of Vitellius, when he proposed to abdicate, 3, 68 *cedere se pacis et rei publicae causa.* — **Flavius Sabinus**: the brother of Vespasian; cf. on 1, 46. — **quod . . . militum**: cf. on 44 *militum quod . . . fuerit.* — **in theatrum**: probably inexact for *in circum,* since no other entertainments were given while the sports of the circus were in progress. The news could not have reached Rome on the 18th (when there probably were plays in the theaters) unless a courier was dispatched on the day of the surrender (15th). — **Galbae imagines**, etc.: they felt that the death of Galba had now been avenged. — **circum templa** = *from one temple to another.* — **congestis**: cf. Intr. 7. — **lacum Curtii**: cf. on 1, 41. — **cuncta**: i.e. the titles and powers. The latter consisted of (*a*) the *imperium*

proconsulare; (*b*) the *tribunicia potestas*, requiring confirmation by the popular assembly — given in this case on 30th Apr., as is shown by the Arval inscr., *CIL.* VI, 2051, 81: (*c*) various special powers and privileges, formerly given piecemeal, but now in the lump. — **composita** = *constituta, decreta.* — **fungeretur**: as though their *gaudium* was an *officium* or *munus.* — **epistulae**: cf. on 54 fin. — **scripsisset**: quoted reason; Caecina conformed to etiquette in not communicating with the consuls; cf. 4, 4, where Mucianus gave offense by writing to the senate.

56. ceterum Italia: in contrast with the tranquillity at Rome; peace did not come even *posito ubique bello;* cf. 52 init. — **vi et stupris**: the general term and the particular linked by hendiadys. — **fas nefasque**: in formulas composed of opposites one term may totally eclipse the other; cf. 3, 51 *tantam . . . adversus fas nefasque inreverentiam fuisse.* — **venales**: i.e. offering their services as assassins. — **ipsi**: in contrast with those who masqueraded as soldiers (*specie militum*). — **refertos agros** = *well-stocked estates.* — **obnoxiis** = *under obligations;* cf. 1, 1 *obnoxios.* — **infamis**: cf. 1, 66, — his avarice while in Gaul.

57. integrum: i.e. not yet decided; cf. *Ann.* 15, 18 *integro adhuc bello;* Sall. *Iug.* 73, 1 *tamquam ad integrum bellum.* — **Germanici exercitus**: except for V *Alaudae* and XXI *Rapax*, Valens and Caecina had brought from the Rhine legions only detachments, *vexilla*, viz. of I *Germanica*, IV *Macedonica*, XV *Primigenia*, XVI *Gallica*, XXII *Primigenia.* Vitellius appears to have brought with him the remainder of XXII, and further detachments from I, IV, XV and XVI. Cf. 1, 61; 2, 89, 100 (XXII in Italy). — **trahebat**: i.e. from their various stations, to meet, or overtake him on his way from Trèves (Trier) to Lyons; cf. 59. — **festinatis**: for the trans. use cf. on 1, 76 fin. *pleraque . . . festinavit.* — **nomina** = *nominal strength;* cf. 4, 14 *inania legionum nomina;* contrast 2, 69 *numeros* = *actual strength.* — **Hordeonius Flaccus**: cf. on 1, 9. — **delecta**, etc.: detachments from the three legions then in Britain, viz. II *Augusta*, IX *Hispana*, XX *Valeria Victrix;* cf. 3, 22 *cum vexillis nonae secundaeque et vicensimae Britannicarum legionum;* cf. 1, 9. — **Asiaticus**: his vicious career is given by Suet. *Vit.* 12; cf. below, 95, where he is said to have rivaled the worst of Nero's freedmen; cf. Plut. *Galba* 20. He

was crucified by Mucianus, 4, 11 fin. — **palam**, etc.: cf. Intr. 13. — **anulis**: cf. on 1, 13 *anulis*. — **mancipium**: out of contempt the freedman is called a slave; so *servorum manus* in 1, 7.

58. Mauretania: cf. on 1, 11 *Mauretaniae*. — **procuratore**: i.e. *procuratore pro legato*, governing the province; cf. on 1, 2 fin. *procurationes*. — **Lucceius Albinus**: he had been procurator of Judaea, 62–65; cf. Joseph. *B.I.* 2, 14, 1; *Ant.* 20, 9, 1 ff. — **Caesariensis**: Algeria, minus the greater part of Constantine. — **Tingitana**: Morocco. — **haud spernendis viribus**: abl. qual. as predicate; cf. 81 *Sohaemus haud spernendis viribus;* 11 *haud spernenda manus*. — **agebat** = *erat* or *versabatur;* cf. 3, 42 *haud procul inde agebat;* 3, 57 *tum forte Minturnis agens*. — **decem novem**: rare form of the numeral, but found even in Caesar, *B. G.* 1, 8, 1. — **latrocinia**, etc.: cf. on 1, 46 *latrocinia et raptus*. — **manus**: in app. with *numerus* only. — **Hispaniae**: it had at first declared for Otho, but soon went over to the side of Vitellius; cf. 1, 76. — **Cluvius Rufus**: cf. on 1, 8; as the senatorial province of Baetica had no troops to protect itself against the threatened invasion, the military responsibility fell on Cluvius, as imperial *legatus* of Tarraconensis. — **decumam**: i.e. *Geminam;* he had also VI *Victrix;* cf. on 1, 8 *Hispaniae*. — **propinquare**: cf. Intr. 17. — **ut transmissurus**: the feigned intention; cf. 80 *ut legatum salutaturi*. — **arduum**: cf. on 1, 85 *arduus*. — **spargebatur**: on the poetic word cf. Intr. 16. — **Iuba**: the name of numerous princes of Numidia. The last Juba, a descendant of Massinissa, had been made king of Mauretania, under a Roman protectorate by Augustus. Caligula had put Juba's son Ptolemy to death in 40, and Claudius established the provincial government; cf. on 1, 11 *Mauretaniae*.

59. Asinius Pollio: it is not known how he was related to the celebrated Pollio. As *praefectus alae* he could not have been higher in rank than an *eques*. Scipio and Festus are also mere names to us. — **adpulsu litoris**: for the free gen. cf. Livy 27, 30, 7 *ut . . . portibus et litorum adpulsu arceret;* Cic. *Verr.* 5, 85 *aditum litoris . . . ademerunt*. Tac. even has *aditus* with gen. for *access* to a person, e.g. *Ann.* 16, 1 *principis aditum emercatus;* ib. 10 *aditu Neronis prohibebatur*. In 1, 87 *Galliarum aditus*, the verbal force is lost, as often in Cic. *aditus templi*, etc. Cf. 72 *errore veri*. — **quae fierent**: i.e. in Mauretania. — **brevi audito**:

cf. *Agr.* 40 *exceptusque brevi osculo; Ann.* 14, 12 *brevi adsensu.* — **inpar**, etc.: cf. 3, 36 *praeterita instantia futura pari oblivione dimiserat.* — **Arar** = Saône (a corruption of the later name *Sauconna*). This journey by water was merely a stretch of *ca.* 75 m.p. between Cabillonum (Châlon-sur-Saône) and Lyons. — **paratu** = *apparatu;* cf. 81 fin. — **egestate**: Suet. *Vit.* 7 gives the details of his *egestas* at the time he left Rome for his province. — **Iunius Blaesus**: cf. on 1, 59. — **rector** = *legatus pro praetore;* cf. on ib. *rector.* — **par opibus** = *correspondingly wealthy.* — **ministeria**: referring to the multitude of servants, with minutely divided duties, thought essential by Blaesus to imperial dignity. Vitellius had already appointed his ministers, or secretaries, from among the knights, 1, 58. — **quamvis**: with subjv., although of a fact; as often in silver Latin; cf. 79, 85; *Dial.* 2. — **curuli**: sc. *sellae;* cf. *Ann.* 1, 75 *ne praetorem curuli depelleret.* — **infanti**: in the later Roman law a child was *infans* up to the age of seven, and this was probably only the confirmation of long-standing usage. Suet. *Vit.* 6 says that the boy was almost dumb (*prope mutum et elinguem*), but it is inconceivable that Tac. should have used *infans* in that sense here, when describing a review. — **filio**: cf. on 1, 75 *liberi;* he had just been brought from Rome. — **Germanicum**: he had previously assumed this title himself, 1, 62. — **rebus adversis**: cf. Intr. 13; Tac. looks forward to the fall of Vitellius, and later the death of the boy, by order of Mucianus, 4, 80; cf. on 48 fin. *nimium meminisset.* — **in solacium cessit**: not to the boy, of course, nor his father; but in the general judgment, what was at first styled *nimius honos*, was later thought to offset, in part at least, the misfortunes which followed. For *solacium* = *compensation, satisfaction* cf. 1, 77 *in solacium;* 2, 47 *neque solaciis opus est.* — **cessit** = *came to be regarded;* cf. *Ann.* 14, 54 fin. *hoc quoque in tuam gloriam cedet; Germ.* 36 *in sapientiam cessit.*

60. tum: Vitellius is at Lyons up to 65. — **alienatio**: practically = *odium*, and hence construed with *in* and acc.; cf. 4, 49 *alienato erga Vespasianum animo fuisse.* — **Illyricos exercitus**: cf. on 1, 9 *Illyrico;* the legions of Illyricum had furnished the majority of the combatants on Otho's side; cf. also 1, 76; 2, 11. — **ceterae legiones**: i.e. I *Adiutrix* (cf. 11 *cum legione prima*), and the legions of the East, — Syria, Judaea, Egypt. — **contactu** = *contagious example.*

— **tristi** = *cruel.* — **squalidos:** the reference is, of course, to the usual *squalor* of ancient defendants, or suppliants who tried thus to excite sympathy; cf. Quint. 6, 1, 30 *producere ipsos, qui periclitentur, squalidos atque deformes.* — **ultro:** cf. on 1, 7 *ultro.* — **inputabant:** sc. *sibi;* i.e. they actually *credited themselves* with, etc.; cf. on 1, 71 *imputavit,* where in similar circumstances Marius Celsus dared to plead his *fides* as a defense. — **spatium . . . itineris:** cf. 40. — **vehiculis:** cf. 41 fin. — **et:** for the more logical adversative, i.e. in spite of the improbable tale, Vitellius believed. — **fidem** = *their* (previous) *loyalty* to Otho, but there is no small sarcasm in the juxtaposition of *perfidia* and *fides.* — **absolvit:** as though *fides* were the crime with which they were charged; so in 1, 59 *damnatos fidei crimine.* — **ignavia:** cf. on 7 *ignaviam.* — **Marius Celsus:** evidently he did not lower himself as Paulinus and Proculus did; cf. 1, 71. — **consulatus:** for July and August, 1, 77. — **fama:** abl. cause, i.e. *quia fama vulgabatur.* — **Cn. Caecilius Simplex:** proconsul of Sardinia, 66–67 (*CIL.* X, 7852); cos. suff. Nov. and Dec., 69; cf. 3, 68. — **postea:** the time referred to is that of the arrangements made in 71, below. — **Trachalus:** cf. on 1, 90. — **Galeria Fundana:** his second wife; her father had been praetor; cf. Suet. *Vit.* 6; cf. also below, 64.

61. pudendum dictu: cf. *Agr.* 32 *pudet dictu* (parenth. as here); above, 41 *mirum dictu.* From Tac.'s aristocratic standpoint this fanatical uprising was a very vulgar affair. — **Boii:** they had invaded Gaul with the Helvetii, but when the latter returned to their own country, the Aedui made room for the Boii in their territory. Their chief town was Gorgobina; cf. Caes. *B. G.*, 1, 5, 4; 28, 5; 7, 9, 6. — **inserere sese fortunae** = *thrust himself into the foreground; fortuna* suggests the highest prominence, cf. 1 *quantaecumque fortunae capax.* For the Tacitean phraseology, cf. *Dial.* 10 *nomen inserere . . . famae; Ann.* 6, 2 *ignobilitatem suam magnis nominibus inserit.* — **numinum:** i.e. of divine command or inspiration. — **adsertor:** this technical term of the law was associated with cases where the status of persons (whether free or slave) was in question; hence Mariccus is represented as a champion of Gallic freedom. — **indiderat:** cf. 1, 51 *hoc enim nomen . . . indiderant.* — **Aeduorum:** cf. on 1, 51 *Aedui.* — **trahebat** = *was winning over;* cf. 86 *Delmaticum militem traxere;* 100 fin. *traxeritne Caecinam.* Others

translate *was plundering*, a sense which the verb has only where the context leaves no ambiguity, as e.g. *Ann.* 3, 74 *ne Cirtensium pagi impune traherentur* (with *praedatio* immediately preceding); so the cases in Sallust show *trahere* in company with *ducere, rapere, exscindere.* — **gravissima:** the steadfast loyalty of the Aeduan state is contrasted with the *levitas* of Mariccus' supporters. — **civitas:** probably not limited to the city of Augustodunum; some action must have been taken by the Aeduan senate in the name of the whole tribe. — **mox:** i.e. at Lyons.

62. ultra: than has been narrated in 60–61. — **defectores** = *rebels* (not *the rebels*); the reader naturally refers this to the associates of Mariccus, but it is evidently meant in a wider sense, including also any others who had refused at first to acknowledge Vitellius. He of course defined rebellion from his own personal standpoint, claiming that he had been proclaimed emperor before the death of Galba; cf. 1, 74 fin. *quod tanto ante traditum Vitellio imperium ad Othonem vertissent.* — **intestatis:** their property fell to their natural heirs, or if they had none, to the *fiscus;* cf. *Ann.* 2, 48 *bona Aemiliae Musae, locupletis intestatae, petita in fiscum.* — **prorsus:** cf. on 5 *prorsus.* — **temperaret:** for *temperasset;* cf. on 5 *abesset.* — **timeres:** for the potential cf. on 1, 10 *laudares;* cf. *Agr.* 22 fin. *ut silentium eius non timeres; Hist.* 3, 75 *innocentiam iustitiamque eius non argueres.* In this indef. 2d person the potential subjv. may stand in the apodosis of a condition, as in the result clause (*Agr.* l.c.). — **epularum . . . libido:** Suet. *Vit.* 13 gives the details *ad nauseam.* — **irritamenta,** etc.: cf. 1, 88 *luxuriosos apparatus conviviorum et irritamenta libidinum.* — **vastabantur:** figurative. — **Augusti . . . Caesaris:** both had been conferred already by the senate; cf, 55; also 1, 62. The title of Augustus was assumed on his arrival at Rome, below, 90 fin.; later that of Caesar also, 3, 58. — **differret:** characteristic clause; cf. Cic. *pro Quinct.* 89 *edictum, quod . . . vetaret;* others make it equivalent to *quo . . . se differre dicebat.* — **Italia:** cf. Intr. 18; the bare abl. from which is freely used by Tac. of country names; but was more orthodox with certain words, e.g. *abire, profugere, abscedere, excedere;* cf. Suet. *Vit.* 14 *urbe Italiaque mathematici excederent; Hist.* 2, 65 fin. *profugerat Britannia;* Nipperdey on *Ann.* 2, 69; *pellere Italia* is freq. in Tac., e.g. *Ann.* 2, 32 *de mathematicis . . . Italia pellendis*

senatus consulta. — **mathematici:** cf. on 1, 22 *mathematicis* and ib. *vetabitur;* Suet. l.c. — **ludo:** sc. *gladiatorio,* the necessary preparation for the arena. — **id . . . perpulerant:** *pellere* here has the construction of *cogere,* instead of *ad id;* cf. 4, 42 *hoc certe Nero non coegit.* — **aemulabantur:** here with an inf., on the analogy (in silver prose) of *certare;* only one other case is known, Vulg. 1 *Cor.* 14, 39 *aemulamini prophetare.*

63. fratris: i.e. L. Vitellius; cf. on 1, 88. — **rettulimus:** viz. 1, 88. — **M. Plancius Varus:** procos. of Bithynia in 70 or 71; in the latter year cos. suff.; procos. of Asia 78–79; our information is largely based upon coins. — **ex . . . amicis:** cf. 1, 31 *e Galbae amicis;* 1, 24 *e proximis Tigellini.* — **Flavius Sabinus:** cf. on 1, 46. — **praefectum urbis:** the city prefect had jurisdiction within a radius of 100 miles, at first over cases affecting peace and order; but his powers were gradually enlarged. Cf. on 1, 14 *praefecto urbis; Dig.* 1, 12, 1, 4. — **tanquam:** cf. on 1, 48 *tanquam . . . furatus.* — **cohortem:** cf. 1, 80 *septumam decumam cohortem e colonia Ostiensi,* etc. — **nec:** the negative belongs with the abl. abs. — **veniam:** for Dolabella. — **scelus:** i.e. the betrayal of his friend. It has been understood of Vitellius' crime, the death of Dolabella; but as Tac. mentions various delays, it is more likely that Varus' repentance came earlier. — **Triaria:** cf. 64; she appears again in an unfavorable light, 3, 77. — **terruit:** with the constr. of *deterruit;* cf. 1, 40 fin. *terruere quo minus;* Intr. 17. — **incessisset** = *had been excited; incedere* often = *come up, crop out, supervene,* etc.; cf. *Ann.* 1, 55 *spes incesserat;* 3, 36 *incedebat . . . licentia;* ib. 71 *incessit dein religio;* 6, 21 *suspicio incesserat; Hist.* 3, 27 fin. *incesserat cunctatio.* For the subjv. of repeated action cf. on 1, 10 *vacaret.*

64. Petronia: the divorced first wife of Vitellius. Her father, P. Petronius, had been very prominent; was proconsul of Asia under Tiberius, made *legatus* of Syria by Caligula, and an intimate of Claudius (*Ann.* 3, 49). For her brother cf. 1, 6. Her social position would add to the pretensions of Dolabella, if he chose to conspire against Vitellius. — **eius:** to avoid the ambiguity of *suam;* cf. on 9 *eum.* — **epistulas:** cf. on 1, 67 *epistulis.* — **Flaminiae:** cf. on 1, 86 fin. — **devertere:** i.e. leaving the Flaminia at Narnia, and going up the valley of the Nar (N.E.). The Flaminia crossed the

Nar by a handsome bridge (now a picturesque ruin) and proceeded northwards through Umbria. — **Interamna** : in southern Umbria, now Terni, best known for the neighboring cascades. The form Interamnium also occurs, but rarely, — so here in the Medici Ms., but not at 3, 61, 63, the only other places where it is mentioned in Tac. It was the *patria* of the emperor Tacitus (275–276), and has without reason been accounted the birthplace of the historian also. — **e proximo** = *close at hand.* — **Galeria**: cf. 60 fin. — **Sextilia**: cf. 89 fin.; her death in December of this year, 3, 67. Nothing is known in regard to her family, beyond the vague statement of Suet. that she was not *ignobilis* (*Vit.* 3). — **antiqui moris**: cf. 1, 14 fin. *moris antiqui* (of Piso). — **quin etiam**: for the order cf. on 17 fin. *quin etiam.* — **epistulas**: cf. on *epistulas* above. — **Germanicum**: cf. 1, 62. — **evicta**: cf. *Ann.* 1, 57 *evicta* (or *victa*) *in lacrimas;* 11, 37 *ad miserationem evicta erat.* — **tantum adversa**: cf. 3, 67 *nihil principatu fili adsecuta nisi luctum et bonam famam.*

65. Cluvius Rufus: cf. 58; on 1, 8; on 101 *scriptores.* — **adsequitur**: cf. 1, 39 *adsecutus erat.* — **Hilarus**: as *Caesaris libertus* shows, he must have been a freedman of Nero, or Galba, or Otho, passing to Vitellius with the rest of the imperial *domus* in succession to Otho (cf. *suum*, below). Probably his duties in Spain were in connection with the financial administration, or the secret service. — **tanquam**: cf. on 1, 8 *tanquam . . . fovissent.* — **Vitellii et Othonis**: Cluvius at first sided with Otho, but soon went over to Vitellius, and the province with him; cf. 1, 76. — **potentiam**: he was not content with his legitimate *potestas;* cf. on 1, 1 *potentiam.* — **diplomatibus**: cf. on 54 *diplomata.* Cluvius found himself in an awkward position, not daring as yet to prefix the name of either of the rivals, while the omission of an emperor's name at the head of the document was also open to a malicious interpretation. — **contumeliosa . . . popularia**: predicate use of the adjj. — **ultro**: cf. on 1, 7 *ultro.* — **L. Arruntius**: cos. 6 A.D.; governed Hispania Tarraconensis, 25–34, *in absentia,* by his *legati;* cf. *Ann.* 1, 13; 6, 27; Suet. *Tib.* 63. — **ob metum**: cf. Suet. l.c. *non ausus a se dimittere,* etc. — **Trebellius Maximus**: cf. on 1, 60. — **Britannia**: for the abl. cf. on 62 *Italia.* — **Vettius Bolanus**: *legatus* of a legion in Armenia with Corbulo in 62; cos. suff. before 69 (else he could not have been *legatus* of Britain); governed Britain 69–71; later pro-

consul of Asia; cf. *Ann.* 15, 3; *Agr.* 8, 16; *Hist.* 2, 97; Statius, *Silv.* 5, 2, 54 ff. — **e praesentibus**: cf. 1, 13 fin. *inter praesentes splendidissimus* (of Otho at the court of Galba).

66. quartadecumanorum: cf. on 11 *quartadecumani.* — **vexillariis**: for their part in the battle cf. 43. — **a Nerone**, etc.: cf. 27 *quas bello Neronis*, etc. — **tendere**: cf. 1, 31 *tendentes.* — **discordiam**: cp. 1, 59 *tum discordia temporum a legione digressae;* 1, 64 *mox rixa inter Batavos et legionarios;* 2, 27. — **Augusta Taurinorum** = Turin; in republican times Taurasia. — **hospitem**: i.e. the man in whose house the soldier was quartered; cf. 3, 2 *tantum hospitibus metuendos.* — **arsisset** = *exarsisset;* Intr. 17. — **quos**: sc. *Batavos.* — **Grais Alpibus**: the *Alpis Graia*, Little St. Bernard, was reached from Augusta Taurinorum by way of Augusta Praetoria (Aosta). For the other passes cf. on 1, 61. — **eo flexu itineris**, etc.: from the Little St. Bernard there were two routes to Lyons, diverging at Montmélian, in the upper Isère valley: (1) via Chambéry (Lemincum) and Les Échelles (Labisco), down to the plains of the Rhone via Aoste (Augustum) to Vienne, and so to Lyons; (2) down the Isère valley, via Grenoble (Cularo) and Moirans (Morginnum), to Vienne and Lyons. Cf. map in *CIL.* XII. The former route was probably taken as far as Aoste, and thence a less frequented road down the Rhone to Lyons. Others understand that the *seditiosi* (below) wished to take route (2) and that the legion actually marched by way of Chambéry, the Lac de Bourget, and the Mont du Chat. — **Viennam**: cf. on 1, 65; 2, 29. — **timebantur**: explained by the conduct of Valens, 1, 66. — **signa**, etc.: the scene of this is much more reasonably placed in the plains of the Rhone, say at Aoste, than while they were still among the high Alps, at Montmélian. — **ferebant**: for *quisque* with plural cf. on 1, 35 *nimii verbis.*

67. e . . . cohortibus: cf. on 1, 64 *ex Vitellio.* — **honestae missionis**: i.e. an anticipation of the honorable discharge, to which they would otherwise be entitled only after sixteen years of service, — with a bonus of 20,000 sesterces; cf. Dio 55, 23. — **classicorum legio**: cf. on 1, 6 *e classe.* — **undecuma**: its station was in Dalmatia; cf. on 1, 9 *Illyrico;* 2, 11; 3, 50. — **septima**: i.e. *Galbiana*, from Pannonia, as was the XIIIth; cf. 11 and 86. — **spectaculum**: cf. 70. — **parabant**: cf. on 30 *inridebant.* — **ad curas**:

cf. 4, 2 *ad curas intentus;* 4, 18 *in Gallias . . . intentus;* but the regular constr. is the dat.; e.g. 1, 29, 79; 2, 41.

68. et . . . quidem: marking the contrast between his discreet measures as regards the defeated, and the lack of discipline on the side of the victors. As often, Tac. omits an adversative with the second member; cf. 36 init.; 1, 16 fin.; 1, 63 init. — **modeste:** i.e. without harsh treatment. — **ludicro initio:** abl. abs.; it began in sport,—a *certamen luctandi* (cf. below). — **ni** = *but for the fact that,* etc. Tac. is fond of more or less elliptical conditions with *nisi* or *ni.* Beginning in sport, the whole thing would have been undeserving of mention, but for the fact, etc. — **Ticinum:** cf. on 17. — **Verginius:** cf. 51 and on 1, 8. — **vel . . . aut:** cf. on 1 *vel.* — **tempestivis** = *beginning betimes;* cf. Cic. *Cato M.* 46 *tempestivis quoque conviviis delector; Arch.* 13, etc.; *Ann.* 11, 37 *tempestivis epulis delenitus.* — **perinde:** cf. on 1, 30 fin. *perinde . . . quam.* — **intentus . . . licenter:** cf. Intr. 13; *intentus* is the opposite of *remissus.* — **pervigiliis ac bacchanalibus:** both terms are borrowed from religious enthusiasm, orgies, etc. — **prociderat:** for the pluperf. with *postquam,* cf. 1, 26 *postquam vulgatum erat.* — **diductis:** i.e. in favor of the one or the other. — **quartam decumam:** although ordered to Britain (cf. 66), this legion was thought capable of defying its orders. — **coactores:** only here for *qui agmen cogebant.* — **agniti:** cf. Intr. 11. — **quanquam:** with adj. for *quamvis;* cf. on 1, 83 *quanquam.* — **ad:** cf. on 8 fin. *ad celebritatem nominis.* — **ducis sui:** as *legatus* of Upper Germany. — **omnis seditio:** cf. 49, 51. — **fastiditi:** he had declined to be saluted as *imperator* by them; cf. on 1, 8 *Verginius.*

69. legatione: for the sending of this embassy cf. 55 fin. — **ibi:** i.e. at Ticinum. — **ultro:** cf. on 1, 7 *ultro.* — **pietatem:** their devotion to him, in demanding vengeance for attempted (?) assassination. — **frementibus:** cf. Intr. 7. — **impunitatis:** Vitellius makes no attempt to punish the troops for the disturbances of chap. 68. — **Batavorum:** cf. 66. — **in Germaniam:** whereas their legion had been sent back to Britain, ib.; in Germany (Mainz) they were prominent in the great uprising of 69–70; cf. 4, 15, etc. — **interno,** etc.: the rebellion led by the Batavian Civilis involved revolted provincials and mutinous legions, as well as free Germans; cf. 4, 22, *mixta belli civilis externique facie;* 1, 2 *plura* [*bella*] *externa ac*

plerumque permixta. — **bello**: for the dat. cf. on 1 *imperio.* — **defectione**: from Galba's standpoint. — **inania belli**: cf. *Agr.* 6 *inania honoris;* above, 2 *laeva maris.* The Gallic militia is contrasted with legionaries and regular auxiliaries. — **numeros** = *actual strength;* cf. on 57 *nomina.* — **vetitis**: Intr. 7, 12. — **inter paucos**: cf. on 1, 1 *inter infensos.* — **virtute**, etc.: cf. Ennius, *moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque* (ap. Cic. *Rep.* 5, 1); Livy 4, 40, 9 *pro virtute tua . . . qua una . . . res publica stetit.* Two distinct statements are condensed into one, — *apud quos potius virtute quam pecunia res Romana stetit,* and *apud quos res Romana melius stetit.*

70. flexit: instead of taking the Via Aemilia at Placentia, Vitellius continued down the left bank of the Po by the Via Postumia to Cremona. — **munere**: for the preparations for this *spectaculum gladiatorum* cf. 67 fin. — **quadragensimum**: i.e. about the 23d May. — **pugnae**: for the gen. cf. on 1, 26 *postero (iduum die).* — **lacera corpora**: on the style of this description cf. Intr. 23. — **frugibus** = *crops.* — **inhumana** = *revolting,* of that which shocks the feelings; so of the indifference of the mob to bloodshed, etc., at the capture of Rome by the Vitellians, 3, 83 (*inhumana securitas*). — **pars viae**: sc. *Postumiae,* — from Cremona to the battlefield. — **rosa**: collective, as usual; the plur. is not found in classical prose. — **extructis**: cf. Intr. 7. — **regium**, etc.: such Oriental customs had been introduced by Caligula; cf. Suet. *Cal.* 13. — **laeta**, etc.: cf. 3, 6 *laeta ad praesens male parta mox in perniciem vertere.* — **perniciem**: in October of this same year Cremona was destroyed by the troops of Vespasian; cf. 3, 32 f. For the anticipation of misfortune cf. on 48 fin. *nimium meminisset;* and below, *tam propinquae sortis ignarus.* — **locos** = *positions.* — **hinc inrupisse**: cf. the similar passage in *Ann.* 1, 61 fin. where the survivors of Varus' army point out to Germanicus the features of the disaster, — *hic cecidisse legatos, illic raptas aquilas,* etc. — **falsa vera**: for the adversative asyndeton cf. on 26 *fugientes occursantes.* — **clamore et gaudio**: cf. on 1, 27 fin. *clamore et gaudiis.* — **aggerem**: apparently the weapons had all been collected in one pile, as a kind of trophy; cf. *Ann.* 2, 18 *struxitque aggerem et in modum tropaeorum arma . . . imposuit;* ib. 22 *congeriem armorum struxit.* — **intueri mirari**: the asyndeton has a cumulative effect, as in 1, 2 fin. *agerent verterent.* — **subiret**: in a double sense (1) with *sors* it = *in mentem veniret* (cf. 3, 31

subit recordatio); (2) with *lacrimae et misericordia* it = *came over*, etc. (cf. 1, 13 *curam subisse;* 37 *horror animum subit*). — **tot milia**: the traditional figure was 40,000, no doubt exaggerated; cf. Dio 64, 10. — **laetus ultro**: cf. on 1, 7 *ultro*. Suet. *Vit.* 10 adds his disgusting remark (probably apocryphal): *optime olere occisum hostem, et melius civem.* — **propinquae sortis ignarus**: cf. on *laeta* and *perniciem*, above.

71. exin = *exinde*. — **Bononia**: cf. on 53. — **spectaculum**: cf. 67. — **cultu** = *properties*, esp. accouterments of the gladiators. — **propinquabat** = *appropinquabat;* cf. Intr. 17. — **corruptius**: i.e. there was no pretense of discipline; cf. 11 fin. *corruptum luxu iter*. — **ingenio**: a collective term for familiar figures or features (*ingenium* = *natura*). — **cantantem**: i.e. on his singing tours. — **luxu**: dat.; so *senatu*, *Ann.* 1, 10; *commeatu*, ib. 12, 62 fin., etc. — **saginae**: cf. 1, 62 *temulentus et sagina gravis*. — **mancipatus**: the figure is from the formal transfer of a slave, etc., to the new owner; cf. Cic. *Cato M.* 38 *si nemini mancipata est* [sc. *senectus*]; Hor. *Epod.* 9, 12 *Romanus . . . emancipatus feminae*. — **vacuos**: proleptic. For the changes made by Vitellius cf. on 1, 77 *ceteri consulatus*. — **menses**: Sept. and Oct. — **dissimulatus** = *ignored;* cf. 82 *dissimulans*. — **Martius Macer**: cf. on 23. — **P. Valerius Marinus**: nothing more is certainly known of him than that he was an Arval in this year; cf. *CIL.* VI, 2051, 53, 62, etc. — **mitem**: the expected causal clause is condensed into a description of the man; so *ingratus* below. For the inconcinnity cf. Intr. 13. — **ausus . . . extimulator**: cf. Intr. ib.; *ausus* is absol., as in 25 fin. *unde rursus ausi*. — **consuetudine servitii**: cf. 1, 90 fin. *ex libidine servitii*. Similarly Agricola was obliged to thank Domitian for refusing him the proconsulship of Asia or Africa, *Agr.* 42. Under Nero every execution or exile was followed by a vote of thanks to the gods, *Ann.* 14, 64 fin.

72. quanquam: with *coeptum;* cf. on 1, 43 *quanquam*. — **Scribonianus Camerinus**: perhaps a son of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, cos. 64, who was brother of Piso; cf. on 1, 48 *Crassum*. The wife of Crassus was Sulpicia Praetextata, to whose family Scribonianus owed his cognomen; cf. 4, 42. — **Histria**: modern Istria. — **in argumentum fabulae**: i.e. to help him in bringing out his comedy; *argumentum* = *mise en scène* (also *plot*). — **veri**

= *as to the fact,* obj. gen. of an unusual type; cf. 59 *adpulsu litoris;* 1, 46 *vulgi largitione;* 4, 49 *indiligentia veri.* — **cum pertractus:** sc. *est;* for the *cum inversum* cf. on 1, 29 *cum adfertur.* — **postquam:** cf. Intr. 24. — **servilem:** slaves were crucified after suffering torture; cf. on 1, 46 fin.

73. vix credibile, etc.: this chapter forms an effective transition to the story of Vespasian's rise to power, just when Vitellius' fears from that quarter have been silenced. — **speculatores:** cf. on 1, 24 *speculatori;* they had been sent by Mucianus (Antioch) and Vespasian (Caesarea). — **etsi:** with abl. abs.; found even in Caesar (e.g. *B. C.* 1, 67, 5). Cf. on 1, 83 *quanquam* (with circumstantial abl.). — **vagis,** etc.: cf. 1, 34 *vagus primum et incertus rumor.* — **ad:** cf. on 8 *ad celebritatem nominis.* — **ut:** cf. 1, 4 *ut erga principem novum.* — **externos:** i.e. Oriental luxury and depravity. — **proruperant:** pluperf. of prompt action; cf. on 5 fin. *aboleverat.*

74–86. Vespasian, laying aside his hesitation and encouraged by Mucianus, declares himself against Vitellius, and is proclaimed emperor, first at Alexandria, then at Caesarea. Preparations for another civil war.

74. bellum armaque: cf. *Agr.* 30 *proelium atque arma;* above, 1 *arma Vitellii bellumque,* where, however, *arma* may have a different sense. — **circumspectabat:** cf. 6 *vires suas circumspicere.* — **praeeuntem:** cf. on 1, 36 *praeire.* — **fausta . . . omnia:** cf. 4, 49 *laeta Pisoni omnia tanquam principi continuare.* Vespasian naturally used the familiar formulas wishing all prosperity to Vitellius, beginning *quod bonum faustum felixque sit.* — **Mucianus:** cf. on 1, 10. — **in Titum:** cf. 5 fin. — **praefectus Aegypti:** cf. on 1, 11; it was a post more important than many of the proconsulships; yet only knights were eligible. — **Tiberius Alexander:** cf. on 1, 11. It was he who first proclaimed Vespasian emperor; cf. 79. — **sociaverat:** i.e. with Vespasian. — **tertiam legionem:** cf. on 1, 79 *tertia legio;* it was the first of the legions in Illyricum to side with Vespasian; cf. below, 85. — **ceterae:** cf. on 1, 9 *Illyrico.* — **secuturae sperabantur:** the personal constr. of pass. verbs with nom. and infin. (or infin.) is very much extended by Tac. and other prose writers of the period; cf. on 1, 50 *crederetur; Ann.* 3, 8 fin. *neque dubitabantur praescripta (esse);* 16, 17 *additur . . . ita*

scripsisse. — **flammaverat**: trans. = *inflammaverat;* cf. Intr. 17. — **mole belli**: the point is here the colossal scale of the war; in a different sense 1, 61 fin. *tota mole belli.* — **modo . . . aliquando**: cf. 51 *modo . . . nunc.* — **sexaginta**: he completed his 60th year on the next 17th Nov., having been born five years before the death of Augustus (Suet. *Vesp.* 2). — **progressum**: i.e. an advance by successive steps at discretion, whereas the aspirant for empire may not pause; for him it is a single leap. Some editors insert *esse regressum* to balance the thought.

75. viro militari: cf. *Agr.* 41 *tot militares viri;* on his military career in Germany and Britain cf. on 1, 10; Suet. *Vesp.* 4. — **bello inexpertas**: cf. 1, 8 *bellis inexpertus; Agr.* 41 *expertum bellis animum.* — **quid . . . profuturas**: cf. on 1, 50 *ituros.* — **praesenti**: i.e. requiring no careful preparation, executed on the spot. — **diverso**: for *diversus* as applied to a rival party cf. 34 *cura diversa sciscitandi;* 3, 5 *maiore ex diverso mercede.* — **sic . . . sic**: the first example illustrates *facinore,* the second *praemium.* — **Scribonianus**: cf. on 1, 89. — **ad summa militiae**: Tac. probably means nothing higher than the rank of a *centurio primi pili,* the ordinary limit of promotion for one who had risen from the ranks.

76. pavoribus: cf. on 13 *iras.* — **coram** = *publicly;* in this mg. *coram* appears first in the Augustan poets, e.g. *Aen.* 1, 520; Hor. *C.* 3, 6, 29; cf. *Ann.* 6, 8 *quae coram habentur,* and 13, 25 fin. *coram prospectans* (the only other examples in Tac.). — **omnes, qui**, etc.: the opening sentence is very similar to that of a passage in Sallust, — a letter of Mithridates (*Hist.* 4, fr. 69 M): *Omnes, qui secundis rebus suis ad belli societatem orantur, considerare debent, liceatne tum pacem agere; dein, quod quaesitur, satisne pium tutum, gloriosum an indecorum sit.* But the resemblance may be due to rhetorical scheme, rather than to direct imitation. — **promptum effectu**: cf. 1, 87 fin. *facillimum factu.* — **arduum**: cf. on 1, 85 *arduus.* — **ipse . . . considerandus est**: the personal constr. by prolepsis adds emphasis to the necessity of judging the adviser's motives. Out of the personal the impersonal *considerandum est* must be supplied with the next question. In the active voice prolepsis of this kind was very frequent in conversational Latin; in the passive it is rare; cf. Hor. *C.* 4, 14, 17 *spectandus . . . quantis fatigaret ruinis;* Ov. *Met.* 6, 208 *an*

dea sim, dubitor. — **quam salutare:** elliptical ind. quest. depending on what follows; cf. 1, 29 *quo . . . fato, in vestra manu positum est.* — **nec** = *neve;* cf. on 1, 84 *nec.* — **a . . . propius:** cf. 1, 10 *prope ab exule.* — **longo** = *diuturno;* cf. on 1, 5 *longo.* — **Galbae:** Otho is calmly ignored. — **abiit,** etc. = *is past and gone.* — **transvectum** = *exactum;* cf. *Agr.* 18 *transvecta aestas.* — **posses videri:** this phrase (esp. freq. in law Latin) gives the commonly accepted interpretation of an act, a term, etc., — it does not refer to mere appearances. Cf. *Agr.* 13 *potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse.* — **concupisse:** Vespasian's ambition must have been quite generally known even before the death of Galba (cf. 5); but the rôle of a pretender has now become impossible, since the death of Otho has freed Vitellius' hands to dispose of another rival. — **excidit:** sc. *memoria.* — **trucidatus:** for the use of the ptcp. cf. Intr. 11. — **Cn. Domitius Corbulo:** the most illustrious of Nero's generals; but having aroused his master's jealousy, he was forced to commit suicide in 67 (Dio 63, 17). He was a brother of Caesonia, wife of Caligula; *legatus* of Lower Germany in 47; proconsul of Asia under Claudius; *legatus* of Cappadocia and Galatia; then of Syria; then of Cappadocia again; best known for his various Armenian campaigns, 57–66; cf. *Ann.* 13–15 *passim;* 11, 18 ff.; *Hist.* 3, 6; Dio 60, 30; 62, 19 ff.; Plin. *N. H.* 2, 72; 6, 23. — **natalium** = *generis* or *originis;* cf. on 1, 49 *natalium.* — **Galbae odio:** for the adversative asyndeton cf. on 1, 83 *nimia pietas.* — **ne . . . quidem:** the negation is limited to *ducis arte . . . victum,* — *even Otho, who was not beaten by,* etc. — **exarmat:** cf. 67. — **principis imitatione:** cf. 68. — **novem:** 3 in Syria, 1 Syrian legion now in Moesia, 3 in Judaea, 2 in Egypt; cf. on 1, 10, 11. — **externi:** i.e. the *bellum Iudaicum;* cf. 4. — **classium,** etc.: cf. 4 fin. — **reges:** cf. 81. — **ante omnis:** the attributive position (cf. on 15 *iuxta*) shows that this is equivalent to *qua omnis antecedis.* More normal is the use of the phrase in such expressions as *rex ante omnes maestus* (Curt. 6, 6, 19); *ante omnes insignis* (Livy 41, 4, 6). Cicero would have said *praeter ceteros.*

77. nobis: i.e. *myself;* cf. in Piso's speech, 1, 30 *nihil adrogabo mihi.* — **triumphale:** Vespasian had not indeed received a triumph for his exploits in the conquest of Britain in 43; but while his superior, Aulus Plautius, was honored with an ovation, Ves-

pasian was awarded the *triumphalia ornamenta;* cf. 78; Suet. *Vesp.* 4. — **capax**: cf. 1 *maturam petendis honoribus iuventam.* — **apud Germanicos**, etc.: for Titus' career cf. on 1, 10; Suet. *Tit.* 4 *tribunus militum et in Germania et in Britannia meruit*, etc. — **rerum**: for the gen. cf. next note. — **ordo** = *relations, relative position;* cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 451 *mearum . . . rerum . . . ordinem.* — **vincimus**: the present, in the midst of futures, adds a note of confidence; cf. Sall. *Cat.* 58, 9 *si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt*, etc. — **discrimen . . . patiemur**: the expression is so unusual that many have preferred to read *partiemur* (Puteolanus), which gives a phrase hardly less difficult to parallel. It is more like Tacitus not to repeat in the verb the idea of sharing already suggested in *ex aequo*. For *patiemur* an illustration is cited from Livy 26, 13, 8 *ultima pericula . . . perpessi.* — **ex aequo**: cf. *Germ.* 36 fin. *adversarum rerum ex aequo socii sunt;* cf. below 97; *Agr.* 20 fin. — **immo** = *or rather.* — **tu**: must be restored on account of the antithesis; cf. 3, 2 fin. *vos . . . legiones continete: mihi*, etc. — **tuos**: emphasizing Vespasian's right to the chief command of all the armies, while Mucianus is to lead the expedition against Vitellius. — **hos . . . illi**: the pronouns reflect the feeling of expected friendship with the *victi*, and inevitable hostility towards the *victores.* — **per fastidium**, etc.: cf. Intr. 13. — **aperiet**, etc.: for the fullness of language in this pass. cf. Intr. 14. — **contecta**: the comparison is with wounds which have closed once, only to resume suppuration. — **vigilantia**, etc.: cf. 5. — **parsimonia**: naturally in a complimentary sense, as in *Agr.* 4, where Tac. commends the *provincialis parsimonia* of Massilia. — **torpore**: cf. 1, 62 *torpebat Vitellius;* 2, 99 *Caecinae . . . torpor recens.* — **inscitia**: cf. on 1, 1 *inscitia.* — **saevitia**: instances are given in 64, 70. — **qui deliberant, desciverunt**: cf. Intr. 27; a similar thought less pointedly expressed, *Agr.* 15 fin. *iam ipsos . . . deliberare. Porro in eius modi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi quam audere;* cf. Plut. *Galba* 4 fin.

78. responsa vatum: cf. 1, 10 fin. *responsis*, etc.; 2, 4; Suet. *Vesp.* 5. — **Seleucus**: Suet. mentions a Seleucus *mathematicus* in connection with Otho, — the same person whom Tac. calls Ptolemaeus (1, 22; Suet. *Otho* 4, 6). An evident confusion on the part of Suet. For the *mathematici* cf. on 1, 22 *mathematicis.* —

rectorem = *as his adviser.* — **vetera omina:** detailed by Suet. *Vesp.* 5. — **laetior:** cf. Suet. l.c. *arbor quoque cupressus in agro avito sine ulla vi tempestatis evulsa radicitus atque prostrata, insequenti die viridior ac firmior resurrexit.* The Ms. *latior* is incompatible with the shape of a cypress. — **triumphalia:** cf. on 77 *triumphale.* — **consulatus:** in Nov. and Dec. 51; cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 4. — **inter:** this position of a dissyllabic preposition between coördinated substantives is very rare before Tac.; cf. Livy 22, 3, 3 *Faesulas inter Arretiumque;* a disputed example in Caes. *B. C.* 3, 6, 3. Cf. *Hist.* 3, 19 (*super*); 4, 77 (*inter*); 5, 8 (*penes*); 5, 19 (*inter*). — **Carmēlus:** the mountain extends in a northwesterly direction, forming a great promontory 25 miles north of Caesarea. — **tradidere:** i.e. there never had been a temple or an image. — **ara**, etc.: adversative asyndeton; cf. on 1, 83 *nimia pietas.* — **reverentia:** cf. *Germ.* 9 fin. *deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident.* — **Basilides:** in itself an auspicious name. Another man of the same name at Alexandria, 4, 82. — **quidquid**, etc.: cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 5 *apud Iudaeam Carmeli dei oraculum consulentem ita confirmavere sortes, ut quidquid cogitaret volveretque animo, quamlibet magnum, id esse proventurum pollicerentur.* — **extruere:** here, as in 3, 72 of the later stages of construction or adornment, as the building (there the Capitol) approaches completion. Thus marbles for decoration are *marmora ad exstructionem domus* (*Dig.* 30, 41, 4). — **aperiebat:** i.e. they now found the key, cf. *Ann.* 11, 34 *aperire ambages et veri copiam facere.* — **quanto;** for the omission of *tanto* cf. on 1, 88 *quanto.* — **Antiochīa** = Antioch, on the Orontes; about 300 m.p. north of Caesarea. — **Caesarea:** on the coast; named by Herod the Great in honor of Augustus; earlier known as *Turris Stratonis.* From the Jewish standpoint it was not *Iudaeae caput* (cf. 5, 8 *Hierosolyma genti caput*). — **illa . . . hoc:** Tac. often neglects the usual attraction to the gender of the pred.; cf. 1, 49 *quod segnitia erat;* here he first neglects, and then observes, the older rule.

79. initium, etc.: cf. 1, 39 *initio . . . orto.* — **Tiberius Alexander:** cf. 74. — **legiones:** cf. on 1, 11 *copias.* — **quamvis . . . iurasset:** cf. on 59 *quamvis.* — **Iudaicus exercitus:** cf. on 1, 10 *legionibus.* — **Syria:** for the abl. alone cf. on 62 *Italia.*

80. quaeritur: i.e. by Vespasian's friends. — **spes timor**, etc.:

cf. on 1, 3 fin. *laeta tristia;* 2, 26 *fugientes occursantes.* — **ratio:** cf. 19 *rationem ostendens.* — **salutaturi:** evidently the usual morning salute. — **Caesarem:** i.e. *the title of Caesar*, depending directly upon *cumulare.* Others understand a case of zeugma, and supply *vocare*, or *salutare.* — **mens:** esp. of those to whom *dum quaeritur*, etc., above refers. — **fortunam:** pregnant for *confidence of success.* — **transierat:** the instantaneous pluperf.; cf. on 5 fin. *aboleverat.* — **aut:** cf. on 1, 51 fin. *et.* — **caliginem** = *dizziness.* Livy has it in the literal sense, of men climbing scaling ladders at the siege of New Carthage: *cum altitudo caliginem oculis offudisset*, 26, 45, 3; of a wounded man Curt. 9, 5, 28 *caligine oculis offusa.* Tac. may have had in mind the Livy pass.; but the expression can hardly have been of Livy's coining. — **laeta omnia:** cf. 3, 54 *cum . . . laeta omnia fingeret; Ann.* 1, 42 fin. *laeta omnia aliis e provinciis audienti;* 11, 15 *et laeta quidem in praesens omnia.* — **affluentia:** there was nothing but good news, and abundance of it; cf. 1, 57 fin. *ex affluenti.* It would be several days before he could learn that he had been proclaimed at Antioch also. — **id ipsum:** i.e. the first news that the troops at Caesarea had hailed Vespasian *imperator*, — received perhaps three days after the event. — **ubi illis**, etc.: as Antioch was a Greek city, the custom of using the theater for public assemblies prevailed. So Timoleon *veniebat . . . in theatrum* (at Syracuse), *cum ibi concilium populi haberetur*, Nep. *Tim.* 4. — **arte quadam ostentator:** in this oft-quoted characterization, Tac. is probably condensing what Livy says of Africanus, — *non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam ab iuventa in ostentationem earum compositus* (26, 19, 3). Or he may have recalled Livy's judgment of Romulus,—*cum factis vir magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor* (1, 10, 5). — **nihil aeque:** the omission of *sed* (cf. 84 *sed nihil aeque*) shows that Mucianus first made his statement in regard to the transfer of the legions at this assembly. — **legionibus:** for the dat. cf. on 1, 11 *procuratoribus.* — **mutarentur:** Suet. speaks of a *rumor dissipatus, destinasse victorem Vitellium permutare hiberna legionum et Germanicas transferre in Orientem ad securiorem mollioremque militiam* (*Vesp.* 6 fin.). — **militibus:** cf. on *legionibus*, above.

81. Sohaemus: cf. on 4 fin. *reges.* Before his transfer to So-

phene, in 54, he had been prince of Emesa, on the upper Orontes, in Syria; *Ann.* 13, 7; *Hist.* 5, 1; Joseph. *Ant.* 20, 8, 4; *B. I.* 7, 7, 1. — **haud spernendis viribus**: as in 58. — **Antiochus**: cf. on 4 fin. *reges; Ann.* l.c.; 12, 55; 14, 26 fin.; Joseph. *B. I.* l.c.; etc. On the asyndeton, cf. on 1, 13 *Vinium . . . Laconem.* — **M. Iulius Agrippa** = Herodes Agrippa II; cf. on 2 *Berenices*, and on 4 fin. *reges*. On the death of his uncle, Herod of Chalcis, in 48, he received that kingdom; but in 53 Claudius gave him in exchange the districts known as Batanaea, Trachonitis, Abila, and Gaulanitis, while Nero added parts of Galilee and Peraea. He had gone with Titus on the errand mentioned above, 1; but when Titus turned back from Corinth, Herod went on to Rome. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* 20, 5, 2; ib. 7, 1; 8, 4; 4, 9, 2; *B. I.* 2, 12, 1 and 8; ib. 13, 2; 18, 9; *Acts* 25–26. — **Berenice**: cf. on 2. — **inermes**: this does not exclude auxiliaries or militia; cf. 1, 11 fin. *inermes provinciae.* — **legionibus**: Cappadocia became a province under Tiberius, in 17, but was governed by procurators, until Vespasian, *propter adsiduos barbarorum incursus*, assigned two legions (XII *Fulminata*, XV *Apollinaris*) to the province, and a *legatus consularis;* Suet. *Vesp.* 8; *Ann.* 2, 42; Dio 57, 17 fin. — **summa rerum** = *whole situation;* cf. 3, 50 *de summa rerum cunctantes;* a different mg. above, 33. — **Berȳtus** = Beirut, on the coast of Phoenice, north of Sidon; made a colony by Augustus; it became in late Roman times an educational center, especially for students of the Roman law. — **splendissimo**: referring to their "decorations," i.e. *phalerae, torques,* and other *dona militaria;* cf. 89 fin. — **decora**: cf. on 1, 84 *decora;* Intr. 15. — **paratus** = *apparatus,* as in 59 *principali paratu.*

82. revocare: i.e. *ad signa,* or *ad arma.* — **signatur**: some of these coins appear to have been preserved; cf. Eckhel *Doctr. Num.* VI, 320. — **bonos**, etc.: cf. *Agr.* 21 *hortari . . . adiuvare . . . laudando promptos et castigando segnes.* — **dissimulans**: cf. 71 *dissimulatus.* — **praefecturis**: in the auxiliaries or the cavalry. — **procurationibus**: cf. on 1, 2 fin. *procurationes.* — **summa**: i.e. high offices, esp. governorships of important provinces. — **fortuna**: wealth and rank were their only recommendation. — **neque . . . ne . . . quidem**: unusual correlation, to emphasize the second member; cf. *Germ.* 7 and 44 fin. *neque . . . neque . . . ne . . . quidem;* ib. 37 *non . . . non . . . non . . . ne . . . qui-*

dem. — **alii in pace**: while Sulla, Caesar, Octavian, etc., had given donatives to their armies in war time, Tiberius did the same upon his accession, but under the will of Augustus. Caligula imitated his example. With Claudius for the first time a donative seemed to be the price paid for the throne. Nero, of course, followed the precedent. Vespasian's donative was small, — only 25 denarii. Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 101; *Claud.* 10 fin.; *Ann.* 1, 8; 12, 41, 69; Dio 65, 22 fin. — **firmus**, etc.: cf. 1, 35 fin. *adversus blandientes incorruptus.* — **militarem**: equiv. to obj. gen. *militum;* cf. 1, 46 *vulgi largitione.* — **exercitu meliore**: abl. qual., — a general is known by the army he keeps; cf. Nepos, *Eum.* 3 fin. *peditatu, quo erat deteriore.* — **obtinere** = *hold;* cf. next note. — **claustra Aegypti**: i.e. Alexandria, on the west side of the delta, and Pelusium on the east. Vespasian's object was not so much a strong position in impregnable Egypt, as the opportunity to secure its revenues, and to hold back the grain supply upon which Rome depended for its daily bread; cf. 3, 8 *Aegyptus, claustra annonae,* etc.; Suet. *Vesp.* 7 *ducibus copiisque in Italiam praemissis, interim Alexandriam transiit, ut claustra Aegypti optineret.* Cf. 3, 48 fin. where Vespasian plans to cut off another source of the *annona* by invading Africa also. — **nihil arduum fatis** = *the fact* (or *the belief*) *that nothing,* etc.; cf. Intr. 11. — **arduum**: cf. on 1, 85 *arduus.* — **reciperandae militiae**: best taken as dat. of the end. The *praemium* was to be more substantial than mere restoration to the service. Cf. 67.

83. agens: cf. 1, 30 *ageret,* etc. — **gliscere**: cf. on 8 fin. *gliscentem.* — **vires**: he takes with him but one complete legion, and probably a detachment from each of the five remaining in Syria and Judaea. But he also counts upon large reënforcements from the Danube legions, especially III *Gallica,* now in Moesia, but formerly in Syria; cf. 74; 1, 79. — **tredecim . . . milia**: this number is reasonably assumed to represent five detachments of 2600 each. Cf. 57, where three legions contribute 8000. — **vexillariorum**: cf. on 1, 31 fin. *vexilla.* — **classem**: in reality not the whole fleet, but *lectissimas Liburnicarum omnemque militem* (i.e. *marines*), 3, 47. — **ambiguus consilii**: cf. on 46 *consilii certus; Ann.* 1, 7 *ambiguus imperandi.* — **num**: cf. on 37 *num.* — **Moesia**: cf. on 1, 79 *Moesia.* He did decide upon this route, up the Hebrus, the Margus, Danube, and Save (or Drave), and so to Aquileia at the

head of the Adriatic. Thus naval warfare was eliminated from the conflict. — **Dyrrachium**: in the province of Macedonia, on the coast, opposite Brundisium; western terminus of one of the most important roads in the empire, the Via Egnatia (the over-sea continuation of the Appia), leading to Thessalonica and Byzantium. In Greek times Epidamnus, now Durazzo. — **clauderet**: zeugma; supply *peteret* or *occuparet* with *Dyrrachium*. — **exponi**: cf. on 30 *expositos*. — **in incerto**: cf. on 1, 37 *in incerto*.

84. **strepere**: cf. 62 *strepentibus ab utroque mari itineribus;* Livy 26, 51, 7 *urbs ipsa strepebat apparatu belli fabris . . . in publica officina inclusis*. — **fatigabat**: the obj. is readily supplied from *provinciae*. — **nervos**: the familiar proverb; cf. Cic. *Phil.* 5, 5; *Imp. Pomp.* 17; Plut. *Cleom.* 27. — **verum** = *actual fact;* the charges brought by the *delatores* were often groundless; others understand it in the sense of *equity*. — **passim delationes**: cf. 1, 20 *ubique hasta et sector;* 1, 65 *multae in vicem clades*. Tac.'s Roman readers probably did not take the trouble to supply a verb. — **quisque . . . correpti**: for the plur. after *quisque* cf. on 1, 35 *nimii verbis*. — **optinendas**: in place of its ordinary mg. *maintain,* the verb here has the sense of *carry out, carry through,* as in *Ann.* 3, 52 fin. *indecorum adtrectare, quod non obtineret*. — **haud perinde** = *haud ita;* cf. *Germ.* 5 *haud perinde adficiuntur*. The comparison is merely implied. — **magistris**: cf. 63 *inrepentibus dominationis magistris*. — **didicit**: opinions differed as to whether Vespasian was naturally miserly (*natura cupidissimus*) or forced into extortion by the needs of the treasury (*summa aerarii fiscique inopia,* Suet. *Vesp.* 16; cf. ib. 23). — **quo . . . sumeret**: purpose clause; his generous contributions were not without the hope of ample returns. — **in reciperando**: the abl. constr. enables Tac. to avoid another long gen. gerundive; euphony, rather than variety, is the motive.

85. **tertia**: cf. on 83 *vires*. — **octava**: i.e. *Augusta*. — **Claudiana**: the name is added to distinguish it from VII *Galbiana,* in Pannonia; cf. 86. It had been loyal to Claudius in the revolt of Scribonianus in Dalmatia (cf. 75; 1, 89). — **inbutae**: cf. 1, 5 *longo Caesarum sacramento inbutus*. — **quamvis . . . interfuissent**: cf. on 59 *quamvis*. — **Aquileia**: cf. 46 fin. — **de Othone**: they refused to believe him dead. — **vexillis**: i.e. they encountered only detach-

ments of the Vitellian legions; cf. on 1, 31 fin. *vexilla.* — **ex metu consilium:** according to Suet., who gives (*Vesp.* 6) a more detailed account of these doings at Aquileia in April, they planned to create an emperor for themselves, and (after rejecting the names of various other consular legates) at the instance of some men of the IIId legion (then in Moesia), they preferred Vespasian, *nomenque eius vexillis omnibus sine mora inscripserunt.* But the mutiny was suppressed for the time being. — **inputari:** i.e. could be set down to their credit with Vespasian; cf. 1, 38 *quis mihi plurimum inputet.* — **Pannonicum exercitum:** i.e. the XIIIth *Gemina* and VIIth *Galbiana;* cf. 86. — **abnuenti:** conditional. — **Aponius Saturninus:** cf. on 1, 79; below, 96. — **rector:** cf. 1, 59 fin. *Lugudunensis Galliae rector.* — **Tettius Iulianus:** cf. on 1, 79 fin. — **avia Moesiae:** cf. 4, 70 *avia Belgarum; Ann.* 13, 37 *avia Armeniae.* — **deinde:** cf. on 50 *deinde.* — **cunctabundus,** etc.: cf. 83 init.

86. tertia decuma: stationed at Poetovio, now Pettau, on the Drave, in Styria; cf. 3, 1. They had returned to their old quarters after building the amphitheaters at Cremona and Bononia; cf. 67. — **septima Galbiana:** the *Hispana* of 1, 6, q.v. — **M. Antonius Primus:** a Gaul, born at Tolosa (Toulouse); the leading figure in Book 3, as the most active of the Flavian generals. In his later days a friend of the poet Martial. Cf. Suet. *Vit.* 18; *Mart.* 9, 99; 10, 23 and 32; *Hist.* 3, 2 *et passim;* 4, 2, 4; etc. — **falsi damnatus:** it was a case of witnessing a forged will, in the year 61; cf. *Ann.* 14, 40. The penalty was deportation and loss of all property for the principal (*Dig.* 48, 10, 1, 13), while the false witness might get off with ejection from the senate (Paul. 5, 15, 5). — **inter alia,** etc.: resembling an appositive phrase (cf. 1, 62 *laetum augurium*), or instead of an appositive clause, *quod fuit inter alia belli mala.* — **in nullo . . . usu,** etc.: i.e. *found no employment.* Of course he retained his command. — **momentum:** cf. 1, 59 *grande momentum.* — **strenuus,** etc.: observe the rhetorical form of this portrait of Antonius, esp. its antitheses. — **artifex** = *a master.* — **iuncti:** in the fig. mg. only as yet, — *having reached an agreement.* — **Delmaticum militem:** i.e. the XIth *Claudia;* for the XIVth *Gemina Martia Victrix* (cf. on 1, 9 *Illyrico;* 2, 11 *quartadecumani*) had returned to its former station in Britain; cf. 66 fin., 86 fin. — **quanquam:** cf. on 1, 43 *quanquam.* — **L. Tampius Flavianus:** twice consul suffectus (*ca.* 46 and 74, or

after); procos. of Africa and then *legatus* of Pannonia; cf. Plin. *N. H.* 9, 26; *Hist.* 3, 4, 10. — **M. Pompeius Silvanus**: cos. suff. in 45, and again *ca.* 74 with Tampius Flavianus; procos. of Africa, and then accused by the provincials, 58, but acquitted by Nero; *legatus* of Dalmatia, 69–70; cf. *Ann.* 13, 52; *Hist.* 3, 50. — **tenebant**: cf. on 30 *inridebant.* — **Cornelius Fuscus**: procurator of Pannonia; presently admiral of the Ravenna fleet; under Domitian *praefectus praetorio*, until he lost his life in the disaster of the 2d Dacian expedition, in 86; cf. 3, 4, 12, etc.; Suet. *Dom.* 6; Mart. 6, 76; Juv. 4, 111. — **natalibus**: cf. on 1, 49 *natalium.* — **quaestus cupidine**: both law and custom forbade a senator to engage in trade; cf. Livy, 21, 63, 4 *quaestus omnis patribus indecorus visus.* It was more profitable to become a procurator; cf. *Ann.* 16, 17 *adquirendae pecuniae brevius iter credebat per procurationes administrandis principis negotiis* (of Mela, brother of Seneca). — If the Ms. *quietis* is correct (which is highly improbable), then *prima* and *idem* are emphatic. — **coloniae**: it is not known to what town this refers. — **facem**: cf. *flagrabat*, below. In English we should more naturally say *he was the chief firebrand.* — **aegrum** = *rotten, weak*, i.e. *disaffected.* — **adgrediuntur**: i.e. Antonius and Fuscus. — **quartadecumanos**: cf. 66 fin. — **primanos**: the *classicorum legio*, now known as I *Adiutrix;* cf. 67. — **secuturis**: cf. on 32 *inrupturis;* Intr. 7.

87–101. Vitellius and his army reach Rome. His administration, more contemptible than ever, under the control of Valens and Caecina, 87–95. News of the uprising under Vespasian, and preparations for the impending conflict, 96–101.

87. contemptior in dies: cf. 73 fin., the point at which the narrative is here resumed. — **ad omnis . . . amoenitates** = *at every attractive town and villa.* — **resistens** = *consistens.* — **gravi . . . agmine**: cf. 1, 70 fin. — **calonum**: cf. on 1, 49 *calones.* — **lixarum**: cf. ib. *lixas;* they were free, but acted insolently, even in comparison with (*inter*) the slaves. — **modestia** = *discipline;* cf. on 1, 52 *modesti.* — **regetur**: the tense is that of a general truth, narrative being abandoned for general observation; cf. 92 *nec umquam satis fida potentia*, etc. Most editors emend to *regeretur.* — **metu . . . per adulationem**; cf. Intr. 13. — **cogniti**: viz. at the court of Nero; cf. 71. — **amicitiarum dehonestamentis** = *scandalous friendships;* the genitive is epexegetic. — **aut**: in a negative statement *aut*

often stands where *et* would be used in an affirmative statement; cf. 1, 63 *non ob praedam aut spoliandi cupidine, sed furore et rabie.* — **cultores . . . vastabantur**: cf. on 16 *vastatos.*

88. seditionem: cf. 68. — **paganos**: cf. on 1, 53 fin. *paganos.* — **foret** = *esset;* cf. 21; for the iterative subjv. cf. on 1, 10 *vacaret.* — **consensu**: the abl. abs. trails loosely after *manente* (with zeugma, for lack of a pres. ptcp. of *esse*); the whole is equivalent to a *cum*-clause. — **ad septimum**: on the Via Flaminia, in the Tiber meadows, about two m.p. nearer than Saxa Rubra, and the well-known villa of the Empress Livia (Prima Porta; cf. 3, 79). The distance is from the Servian gate at the foot of the Capitoline (Via Lata). — **saginam**: cf. 1, 62 *sagina gravis.* — **vernacula . . . urbanitate**: i.e. it was only a practical joke; *vernacula* has its special mg. *city-born, metropolitan;* cf. Petron. 24 *hominem acutum atque urbanitatis vernaculae fontem.* So in *Ann.* 1, 31 recruits from the city are *vernacula multitudo;* cf. *Dial.* 28 *de urbe et his propriis ac vernaculis vitiis.* — **balteis**: cf. on 1, 57 fin. *balteos.* — **an**: silver Latin for *num;* cf. *Ann.* 2, 9 *quaesitoque an Caesar venisset; Hist.* 4, 86 *fidem . . . temptavisse, an.* — **forent** = *essent,* cf. above, *foret.* — **Galba**: in their own eyes the soldiers of Vitellius were the avengers of Galba, forgetting that they had at first revolted from him. — **ipsi**: i.e. the German auxiliaries. — **tergis**: for class. *pellibus;* so in *Ann.* 15, 44 the Christians are *ferarum tergis contecti.* But *Germ.* 17 *gerunt et ferarum pelles.* — **inscitiam** = *awkwardness;* cf. on 1, 1 *inscitia.* — **lubrico viae**: cf. 1, 79 *lubrico itinerum.* — **terrore et . . . catervis**: hendiadys, the feeling produced and the means of its production.

89. ponte Mulvio: cf. 1, 87. — **deterritus**: at some point between the Pons Mulvius and the Campus Martius he yields to persuasion, and gives up his plan of a triumphal entry. — **praetexta**: in place of the military *paludamentum.* — **quattuor legionum**: viz. the three that had accompanied Valens (I *Italica,* V *Alaudae*) and Caecina (XXI *Rapax*), and that of which the main body must have come with Vitellius (XXII *Primigenia*); cf. 1, 61, 64; 2, 100. Tac. was perhaps an eye-witness of this scene. — **aquilae**: i.e. legions with their eagles; so *vexilla* and *signa,* below. — **per frontem** = *at the head of the column;* usually applied to an *acies,* not often to an *agmen* (but cf. *Ann.* 12, 16). — **totidem**: Tac. overlooks the three

vexilla from Britain, mentioned in 100. — **circa**: forming parallel columns, but probably in close order, not as at the entry of the Flavians, 3, 82. — **legionibus aliis**: i.e. I *Germanica*, IV *Macedonica*, XV *Primigenia*, XVI *Gallica;* cf. 100. — **alarum**: of cavalry. — **et**: epexegetic, *that is;* cf. on 10 *iactatum.* — **peditum . . . eques**: Intr. 13. — **forent** = *essent;* cf. on 88 *foret;* for the subjv. cf. on 1, 10 *vacaret.* — **praefecti**: cf. on 26 *praefectus castrorum.* — **phalerae**: cf. on 1, 57 fin. *phaleras.* — **torques**: not worn as collars, but hanging down over the breast, like the *phalerae.* — **facies**: cf. 42 *non una pugnae facies;* 1, 85 *facies belli.* — **matrem**: cf. 64.

90. alterius: often used in preference to *alīus;* for the sense cf. 1, 45 *alium crederes senatum, alium populum.* — **somno**: fig. for *desidia, ignavia.* — **vacuum curis** = *unconcerned, thoughtless.* — **Augusti**: cf. 1, 47 *nomen Augusti et omnes principum honores.* — **frustra**: with reference to his impending fate; for the hint of approaching catastrophe cf. 48 fin., 59 fin. — **recusaverat**: more exactly, he had only postponed; cf. 62 *edictum, quo vocabulum Augusti differret.*

91. funesti ominis loco: a common use of *loco* in place of a predicate; cf. 4, 26 *prodigii loco accipiebatur.* — **XV kalendas Augustas**: cf. Livy 6, 1, 11 *diemque a.d.* XV *kal. Sextiles, duplici clade insignem, quo die ad Cremeram Fabii caesi, quo deinde ad Aliam cum exitio urbis foede pugnatum, a posteriore clade Aliensem appellarunt insignemque religione rei ullius publice privatimque agendae fecerunt.* — **Cremerensi**: the slaughter of the Fabii by the Etruscans, 477 B.C.; Livy 2, 50. — **Alliensi**: at the hands of the Gauls, 390; Livy 5, 38. — **cladibus**: Cic. would have written *clade;* cf. 1, 18 *quartam et duoetvicensimam legiones.* — **comitia consulum**: the arrangements Vitellius had already made (cf. 71) required formal ratification by the senate under the transparent guise of an election. Tiberius had transferred the elections to the senate (*Ann.* 1, 15), but the assembly met to hear the formal *renuntiatio* of those who had been elected; cf. Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, § 503. — **civiliter**, etc.: he wished to give the impression that the old-time freedom had in part returned. In reality the emperor's *commendatio* of his *candidati* was decisive; cf. Abbott, §§ 331, 416. — **fautor**: i.e. he favored that faction which happened to be most popular. They were dis-

tinguished by colors, — white, red, blue, green, i.e. *albata, russata, venĕta, prasĭna,* respectively. — **consulerentur**: cf. on 1, 10 *vacaret.* — **Helvidius Priscus**: a well-known member of the opposition, born in Samnium, son of a first centurion, son-in-law of Thrasea (v. below), commander of a legion in Syria, 51, tribunus plebis, 56; relegated by Nero in 66, he returned under Galba; was relegated again and put to death by Vespasian. Tac. gives a portrait of him in 4, 5 f.; cf. *Ann.* 12, 49; 13, 28; 16, 33; Suet. *Vesp.* 15. — **non . . . ultra quam** = *tantum;* no verb need be supplied, for, while originally elliptical, the combination has come to be treated as an adverb, i.e. = *tantummodo;* so *quid aliud quam, non aliud quam, nihil aliud quam* (*Thesaurus* I, 1634, 34 ff.), *nihil amplius quam;* cf. *Ann.* 4, 34; 13, 40 fin.; 15, 13; an idiom freq. in Livy, e.g. 27, 18, 11 *nihil aliud quam via impediti.* — **potestatis**: sc. *tribuniciae,* one of the most important of the powers conferred upon the emperor; cf. on 55 *cuncta.* — **re publica** = *affair of state.* — **P. Clodius Thrasea Paetus**: from Patavium, cos. suff. in 56; son-in-law of Caecina Paetus (a victim of Claudius); father-in-law of Helvidius Priscus; himself also a steadfast opponent of the emperors and a Stoic; forced to suicide in 66; cf. *Ann.* 16, 21 ff.; 14, 12, 48 f.

92. Publilius Sabinus: nothing further is known about him, except his deposition a few months later, 3, 36 fin. — **Iulius Priscus**: cf. 3, 55, 61 fin.; his suicide, 4, 11 fin. For the asyndeton with names cf. on 1, 13 *Vinium . . . Laconem.* Both were eccentric promotions. — **pollebant**: cf. on 30 *inridebant.* — **inter**: cf. on 1, 1 *inter infensos.* — **olim**: cf. on 1, 60 *olim.* — **fecunda gignendis inimicitiis**: for the abl. cf. 1, 51 fin. *fecunda rumoribus; Ann.* 13, 57 *flumen gignendo sale fecundum.* — **et**: cf. on 1, 51 fin. *et.* — **salutantium**: i.e. at the morning call. — **potentia**: cf. on 1, 1 *potentiam.* — **aut**: equivalent here to *modo . . . modo.* — **nobilium turba**: Nero's exiles; cf. Otho's ineffectual measures for their relief, 1, 90 (empty honors, 1, 77). — **gratum**: cf. 95 *laetum . . . quod.* — **adprobavit**: translate by a passive. — **iura libertorum** = *iura patronatus,* the various rights which the patron had over his freedman. Exile extinguished such rights. For an impoverished patron the most important of these were (1) the privilege of support at the expense of the freedman, if the latter

had means; (2) the right to one-half the property of the freedman, if he died childless. Cf. *Dig.* 25, 3, 5, 19 ff.; 37, 14, 21; *Inst.* 3, 7, 1. — **servilia ingenia**: meaning freedmen; so *servorum manus* 1, 7. — **corrumpebant** = *inritum faciebant.* — **occultos**: i.e. of obscure, and hence unsuspected, persons. — **ambitiosos**: i.e. of very influential persons, into whose good graces the freedmen had wormed themselves *per ambitionem.* — **sinus**: the figure is from the folds of the toga. — **in domum Caesaris**, etc.: by naming the emperor their patron. For an example of a powerful *libertus Caesaris* cf. Galba's Icelus, 1, 13, 37 fin., 46 fin.; cf. 95.

93. castris: the permanent camp of the praetorians; cf. on 1, 17 *castris.* There were other barracks (perhaps included here) for the *cohortes urbanae, vigiles,* etc. — **porticibus**, etc.: cf. 1, 31. — **principia**: i.e. they had no rallying place, as in the *principia* of a camp, — the central part of the *via principalis,* and an open space before the *praetorium.* Cf. 3, 13 *recurrens in principai miles.* — **imminuebant**: zeugma, resulting from the antithesis *corpus . . . animum.* — **infamibus**: i.e. *notoriously unhealthy.* The ancient reputation of the Vatican still remains. For the adj. cf. Hor. *C.* 1, 3, 20 *infamis scopulos Acroceraunia;* Livy 21, 31, 8 *infames frigoribus Alpes.* — **tetendit**: cf. on 1, 31 *tendentes.* — **in vulgus**: cf. on 15 *iuxta.* — **obnoxia** = *exposed,* as being not yet acclimated. Suetonius Paulinus had predicted this result, 32. — **ordo militiae** = *the service,* with its rules and conventions; cf. 1, 38 *sine more et ordine militiae.* — **sedecim**: a temporary enlargement, in place of the usual nine (though Nero had twelve, *CIL.* V, 7003). It was not continued by Vespasian. For the dismissal of the old praetorians cf. 67; for Vespasian's nine cf. *CIL.* III, p. 853. — **quattuor**: only three had heretofore been stationed in the city; cf. on 1, 20 fin. *urbanis.* Vespasian had four such cohorts, *CIL.* l.c. — **scribebantur**: cf. Intr. 17. — **tanquam**, etc.: cf. on 1, 8 *tanquam . . . fovissent.* — **periculo**: for the dat. cf. on 1, 59 *periculo;* for the occasion cf. 25 ff. — **fluitasse**: Caecina presently abandons the cause of Vitellius; cf. 100 f.; 3, 9, 13 ff.

94. militiam: i.e. *arm of the service.* — **urbanae militiae**: including praetorians and *cohortes urbanae* under a single term; so 1, 4 f. *urbanum militem,* and *miles urbanus.* — **alares**: i.e. auxiliary cavalry. The extraordinary privilege of being enrolled in the

urbana militia was not extended to the auxiliary infantry; cf. *legionibus alisque*, below. — **castrorum**: sc. *praetorianorum;* by meton. for service among the praetorians. — **decus**: it had previously been a hard-earned honor to serve in the guard. — **contionante**: i.e. from the tribunal at the camp. — **pro Vindice**: cf on 1, 6 fin. — **super**: cf. on 1, 8 *super.* — **donativum**: cf. 1, 5; 18 fin. — **principum**: possibly Claudius, certainly Nero, Galba, Otho, probably Vitellius. — **ut tributum**: these exactions from the freedmen no doubt won popular favor for Vitellius. — **perdendi**: cf. 1, 30 *perdere iste sciet* (of Otho); 37 *quod Polycliti . . . perdiderunt.* — **cura**: ironical. — **inludere**: cf. *Ann.* 15, 42 *viribus principis inludere;* Sall. *Cat.* 13, 2 *quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae.*

95. natalem . . . diem: the 24th Sept. (or according to others the 7th); cf. Suet. *Vit.* 3. He was born 15 A.D. — **vicatim**: a *vicus* was a street, with the narrower streets or alleys opening into it, including the houses, — hence equivalent to *precinct;* e.g. Vicus Tuscus, Vicus Longus, Vicus Patricius. — **laetum**: cf. 92 *gratum . . . quod,* etc. — **in campo Martio**: the tomb of Nero (the family tomb of the Domitii) was on the Pincio (Collis Hortorum), but visible from the Campus Martius; cf. Suet.'s description, *Nero* 50. — **inferias Neroni**: cf. Suet. *Vit.* 11 *et ne cui dubium foret, quod exemplar regendae rei publicae eligeret, medio Martio campo adhibita publicorum sacerdotum frequentia inferias Neroni dedit.* — **Augustales**: i.e. *sodales Augustales,* established by Tiberius soon after the death of Augustus. There were at first 21 regular *sodales,* and four representatives of the imperial family. They had at Bovillae, on the Appian Way, near Mt. Alba, a shrine which had long been associated with the ancestor worship of the *gens Iulia;* cf. *Ann.* 1, 54 (quoted below); 2, 41; *CIL.* VI, 1985 ff. (1986 is of the year 69). — **ut Romulus Tatio**: sc. *sacerdotium;* but in place of this more indefinite object, it is not unlikely that *Titios,* the proper designation, stood in the original text (after *Romulus*); cf. *Ann.* 1, 54 *addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam T. Tatius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat,* — a passage which represents a different legend as to the foundation and purpose of the *Titii.* — **nondum . . . et**: an imitation of Vergilian narration, with much the same effect as

that of a *cum inversum* (cf. on 1, 29 *cum adfertur);* cf. 1, 37 *septem . . . menses sunt, et iam,* etc.; *Aen.* 2, 692 *vix ea fatus erat senior, subitoque fragore | intonuit,* etc.; 5, 857 *vix . . . laxaverat artus, | et,* etc.; *Georg.* 2, 80 *nec longum tempus, et,* etc. — **quartus:** in reality *quintus.* — **Asiaticus:** cf. on 57. — **Polyclitos:** for the typical plural cf. on 1, 37 *Polycliti;* and below, *Vinios Fabios,* etc. — **Patrobius:** cf. 1, 49. — **et:** cf. on 1, 51 fin. *et.* — **odiorum:** abstr. for concr.; cf. Intr. 15. — **prodigis epulis:** cf. 62 *epularum foeda et inexplebilis libido;* Suet. *Vit.* 13. — **sumptu ganeaque:** the hendiadys balances the preceding adj. + noun; Intr. 13. — **abunde:** sc. *esse;* the adv. serves as pred.; cf. 97 fin. *contra fuit;* 1, 75 *frustra fuit.* — **noviens miliens:** sc. *centena milia;* 900 million sesterces = *ca.* 47 million dollars. — **paucissimis:** i.e. April to Dec. — **sagina:** cf. 71; on 1, 62 *sagina.* — **Othonem Vitellium:** i.e. *an Otho, a Vitellius;* for the asyndeton cf. on 1, 13 *Vinium . . . Laconem.* — **inter:** cf. on 1, 1 *inter infensos.* — **Vinius:** Galba's colleague, 1, 1, etc. — **Fabius:** i.e. Valens, 1, 7, etc. — **Icelus:** Galba's freedman, cf. 1, 13. The freedmen are paired together. — **Marcellus:** cf. on 53.

96. tertiae legionis: in Moesia; cf. 85. — **Aponius Saturninus:** *legatus* of that province; cf. 85. — **epistulis:** cf. on 1, 67 *epistulis.* — **mollius:** cf. 1, 12 *quo seditio mollius acciperetur.* — **constare** = *was unshaken.* — **exauctoratos:** cf. 67. — **insectatus:** for the aoristic use of the perf. ptcp. cf. Intr. 12. — **vagis:** under orders, of course. Translate by a *while*-clause. Cf. Intr. 7. — **sermones,** etc.: for a similar attempt, not long after, to suppress free speech cf. 3, 54. — **alimentum,** etc.: cf. 1, 17 fin. *male coërcitam famam supprimentes augebant.*

97. -que: the class. use, to pair together the provinces lying in the same general direction. Naturally *Germania* includes both Rhine provinces. — **segniter et . . . dissimulans:** cf. Intr. 13. — **Hordeonius Flaccus:** cf. on 1, 9. — **bello:** the uprising under Civilis, already feared; cf. 4, 12 ff. — **Vettius Bolanus:** cf. on 65 fin. — **consulari:** sc. *legato.* Cluvius Rufus was governing the province *in absentia;* cf. 65; 1, 8. — **trium legionum:** i.e. VI *Victrix,* X *Gemina,* I *Adiutrix;* the last had been sent thither by Vitellius; cf. 67. — **prosperis . . . rebus:** with conditional force. — **certaturi:** the ptcp. takes the place of a relative clause

containing the apodosis. For another silver Latin freedom with the fut. ptcp. cf. on 32 *inrupturis.* — **ad obsequium**: cf. 35 *ad proelia.* — **ex aequo**: cf. 77 *ex aequo.* — **legio**: III *Augusta;* cf. on 1, 11 *legio.* — **Clodius Macer**: cf. on 1, 7. — **favorabilem**: so an oration which wins applause is a *favorabilis oratio* (*Ann.* 2, 36 fin.). — **famosum**: Suet., on the other hand, says that he governed Africa *integerrime nec sine magna dignatione,* and that he returned *nihilo opulentior, Vesp.* 4. — **contra**: adverb as pred.; cf. 95 *abunde.*

98. C. *Calpetanus Rantius Quirinalis* **Valerius Festus,** related by marriage to Vitellius; *legatus pro praetore exercitus Africae,* — a position much more influential than that of the ordinary *legatus legionis* (the case of Macer, above); in 70 he caused the murder of the proconsul, L. Piso; in 71 cos. suff. with Domitian; governor of Pannonia, 73, and Spain (Tarraconensis), 79–80; cf. 4, 49 f.; Plin. *Ep.* 3, 7, 12; best known from inscriptions in Spain and at Trieste, — *CIL.* II, 2477, 4802, etc.; V, 531. — **cum fide** = *loyally.* — **invaluissent**: representing the fut. perf. of direct discourse. — **fefellere** = *escaped unnoticed,* absolute; cf. 3, 41 and 5, 22 *ad fallendum;* Livy 10, 14, 6 *non fefellere . . . in occulta valle instructi.* — **socordiā . . . dein**: cf. on 5 *dein.* — **Pannonicae Alpes**: not a separate group of the Alps, but merely a term for the passes of the Julian Alps. The main route led from Aquileia, northeasterly, over the Alpis Iulia (830 m.), down into the valley of the Save at Emona (Laibach), and so to Poetovio (Pettau). — **etesiarum**: according to Pliny these began to blow on the 20th July, and lasted for 40 days (*N. H.* 2, 124). — **inde**: sc. *navigantibus.*

99. inruptione: the abl. (means) is with *exterritus;* others make it abl. of time, and *nuntiis* means. — **atrocibus,** etc.: cf. 1, 51 fin. *undique atroces nuntii.* — **expedire**: as in 1, 10 and 88. — **proficiscentis**: cf. the entry into the city, 89. — **species . . . vigor . . . ardor**: for the style of this pass. cf. Intr. 23. — **rarum** = *thinned, open;* cf. 3, 25 *rariore iam . . . acie.* — **fluxa**: i.e. *held listlessly;* not = *fracta;* for it is too much to assume that battered arms, or those in bad order, would have escaped inspection. Tac. is speaking merely of physical condition and its effects. — **quantum . . . tanto**: for a similar neglect of symmetry cf. on

1, 14 fin.; on 2, 11 *tarditas*. Tac. follows Livy in this balance of a positive against a comparative in a proportional sentence. — **soluti . . . seu**: the second term is an entire clause; cf. Intr. 13; 34 *simulantes . . . ac ne*, etc. — **plerique**: i.e. among the historians. — **Flavius Sabinus**: cf. on 1, 46; 2, 55. — **Rubrius Gallus**: cf. on 51. — **erga**: here in a hostile sense; cf. *Ann.* 2, 76 *discordiam erga Germanicum;* and so sometimes in Plaut., Ter., Nep. In Cic., Caes., Sall. it always denotes a friendly relation.

100. Caecina: the date of his departure is probably about the 1st Oct. — **Cremona**: cf. 17, 22, etc. — **vexilla**: cf. on 1, 31 fin. *vexilla;* below, *vexillariis*. — **Britannicarum legionum**: omitted in the enumeration of 89, q.v.; they were II *Augusta*, IX *Hispana*, XX *Valeria Victrix*. — **exercitui**: for the force composing Valens' expedition cf. 1, 61, 64. — **ductaverat**: *ductare exercitum* was regarded as obsolete in the time of Quint., but sanctioned by the usage of Sall. and Tac.; cf. Quint. 8, 3, 44; Sall. *Cat.* 11, 5; *Iug.* 70, 2. — **tota mole**: cf. 1, 61 fin. *tota mole belli.* — **legiones**: from 3, 14 fin. we learn that I *Italica* and XXI *Rapax* were sent to Cremona. — **pars**: in reality this was the larger part of the force. — **Hostilia**: on the left bank of the Po, S. E. of Mantua; of strategic importance also, at the crossing of the Via Postumia (cf. on 23 *Bedriacum*) and the road from Bononia to Verona. — **Ravenna**: in the marshes, south of the Po delta; station of the fleet; cf. on 9 *Misenensi*. — **Patavi**: Patavium (Padua) lay between Verona and the Adriatic; the birthplace of Livy. — **secretum**: cf. on 4 *secreto*. — **componendae proditionis**: the gen. constr. limits *secretum*, and indicates the end which the interview was expected to serve. So even in golden Latin; e.g. Caes. *B. G.* 4, 17, 10 *naves deiciendi operis;* Cic. *Cato M.* 84 *commorandi . . . deversorium*. Silver Latin used such phrases more freely, even attaching them directly to the verb, as a substitute for the purpose clause; cf. 4, 25 *vinciri iubet, magis usurpandi iuris, quam quia*, etc.; *Ann.* 2, 59 *Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis*. — **Sex. Lucilius Bassus**: cf. 3, 12, 36, 40; in 4, 3 he once more appears as a cavalry officer. There was nothing exceptional in his commanding a fleet. It was unusual, however, for the two fleets to be combined under one *praefectus*. Later he was *legatus* of Judaea; Joseph. *B. I.* 7, 6, 1, 6;

7, 8, 1. — **praefecturam praetorii**: cf. the recent promotion of Publilius Sabinus, 92. — **foret** = *esset;* cf. 88. — **iracundiam . . . ulciscebatur**: Tac. sarcastically puts the subjective feeling in the place of an objective injury. — **quod evenit**, etc.: cf. 1, 39 *utque evenit in consiliis infelicibus;* 56 *quod in seditionibus accidit*, etc.; 81 *utque evenit inclinatis ad suspicionem mentibus.*

101. scriptores: Pliny the Elder, Vipstanus Messalla, and Cluvius Rufus are the most obvious sources of Tacitus for this period. Pliny's work was a continuation of that of Aufidius Bassus, and hence known as *A fine Aufidi Bassi libri XXXI;* cf. Plin. *Ep.* 3, 5, 6; *Hist.* 3, 28. Vipstanus Messalla figured in this war as acting commander of a legion — the VIIth *Claudiana;* cf. 3, 9, 18, 25, 28. Tac. had made him one of the speakers in the *Dialogus.* For Cluvius Rufus cf. on 1, 8.— **potiente rerum**: here of the possession of power, not the acquisition of it; cf. 3, 74 *potiente rerum patre.* — **corruptas . . . causas**: *causas* is pred. appos., i.e. *as the reasons* (for the defection of Caecina and Bassus); but instead of adding, say a relative clause, to show that these reasons were fictitious, he condenses that thought into a phrase, *corruptas in adulationem;* cf. 1, 1. — **super**: cf. on 1, 8 *super.* — **ab aliis**: meaning esp. Valens; cf. 99 fin. — **legiones**: at Hostilia, on his arrival from Patavium. — **subruebat**: of the abortive attempt simply; for the sequel cf. 3, 13 f. — **pro Othone militiae**: cf. 14 ff., 28. The second book ends, as the first had ended, with preparations for an impending conflict, the northward march of armies, ill-prepared in both cases, for a struggle which was to bring another usurper to the throne.

APPENDIX

Variations from the Text of Halm[1]

Halm	This Edition
1, 2, 6 omissa	missa *Med.*
11 urbs	et urbs *Med.*
3, 5 ipsa necessitas	*omit b*
6 tolerata	toleratae *b*
9, 12 cunctatur	cunctantur *Med.* (*Andr.*)
10, 8 *se*	*omit*
11, 5 domui	domi *Med.*
12, 2 a (misprint)	e
13, 2 et *dett.*	*omit*
19 segnis et, donec bellum fuit	donec bellum fuit, segnis et *C. Her.*
15, 24 blanditiae *et*	blanditia et *W. Her.*
16, 9 e (misprint)	a
26, 4 *Ian.*	*omit*
31, 20 reversos	rursus *Med.*
33, 10 relanguescat	elanguescat *Iac. Gronov.*
35, 9 sistens	resistens *Faernus*
37, 24 Tigellini	Aegiali (egialii *Med.*)
38, 12 aperiri	aperire *Med.*
39, 4 f. rediret . . . peteret	redire . . . petere *Med.* (*Andr.*)
41, 9 *et*	*omit*
42, 7 ictu	ictus *Meiser*
43, 11 Statius	Staius *Klebs* (cf. *CIL.* IX, 3080)
12 trucidatus *est*	trucidatur *vulg.*
44, 13 honore	honori *Nipp.*
48, 17 pro consule	proconsulatu *Med.*
49, 4 confixum (misprint)	suffixum
53, 6 id *add. Heinsius*	*omit*
55, 10 et (misprint)	ac

[1] Fourth edition, Leipzig, 1883; reprinted 1907. Differences of spelling are not included.

57, 7 tertium	tertio *ed. Spir.*
60, 4 proruperat	proruperant *Med.* (*Andr.*)
65, 16 relinquerentur	relinquerent *Med.* (*Andr.*)
67, 1 per Caecinam haustum	Caecina hausit *Med.* (*Andr.*)
68, 1 pericula (misprint)	periculo
13 iusto	infesto (in sto *Med.*)
69, 7 ut est	*Tum*, ut est
ib. et	*omit Joh. Müller*
70, 6 exciti	acciti *a*
71, 10 ne hostem metueret, conciliationes	testes mutuae reconciliationis *Nipp.* (*but prefixing* deos)
72, 5 crudelitatem mox	mox crudelitatem *dett.*
74, 3 quietis locum	*e* quietis locis *Madv.*
77, 16 Saevino P . . .	Scaevinio Propinquo *Andr.*
78, 5 ostentui	ostentata *Ernesti, Andr., Her.*
79, 3 [ad]	*transfer to* novem
4 novem	ad novem *Acidalius*
83, 23 intercidit	intercidet *Heinsius*
84, 6 hinc	ut *Med.* (*Andr.*)
85, 1 apta	*omit*
87, 13 [immutatus]	immutatus *vulg.*
88, 6 expediri	expedire *ab*

2, 1, 19 incerta adhuc victoria	incertam adhuc victoriam ***dett.***
4, 3 consulit (misprint)	consuluit
19 amor	rubor *Andr.*
6, 2 pernicibus	praecipitibus *Beroaldus*
7, 2 bello civili	bellorum civilium *Ritter*
5 discordiam	socordiam *Pluygers*
10, 5 delationem (misprint)	delationes
10 retinebatur	retinebat *Med.*
ib. adhuc terrori	aliquid terroris *Jacob*
12, 2 maiore Italiae parte	etiam ora Italiae
14, 11 est	et *Thomae*
ib. acie	acies *Thomae*
17, 1 bellum, quod	bellumque *Med.*

20, 4 [barbarum tegmen]	*omit*
21, 6 f. retorta ingerunt	*paria* regerunt ***Meiser***
16 *operibus*	*omit*
22, 4 fluxu (misprint)	fluxa
28, 10 [sanitas sustentaculum]	*omit*
32, 2 qua	quia (***Andr.***)
35, 2 perlabebantur	praelabebantur ***Med.***
38, 18 redeo	venio ***Med.*** (***Andr.***)
40, 2 sedecim	*XXV* (cf. *PAPA.* XL, lxiv **f.**)
46, 15 et gemitus	vel gemitus ***W. Her.***
50, 1 Ferentino	Ferentio ***Med.***
55, 2 cecidisse	cessisse ***Med.***
60, 1 interfecti sunt	interfecti *vulg.*
64, 3 Interamnium	Interamnam *Puteol.* (as in 3, 61)
65, 4 Hilarius	Hilarus *Andr.*
12 hunc	*sed* Arruntium *Haase* (Arruntium *Ritter*)
66, 12 exarsisset	arsisset ***Med.***
68, 5 proinde	perinde *dett.*
74, 14 f. *esse regressum* (*C. Her., Joh. Müll.*)	*omit*
76, 4 inchoaturi	incohatur (inchoatur ***Med.***, *Andr.*)
77, 11 tu hos	*tu* tuos *Th. Kiessling*
78, 7 latior	laetior *Triller*
81, 3 inservientium	servientium *Novák*
83, 11 [sibi]	*omit*
87, 8 regeretur	regetur ***Med.*** (***Andr.***)
90, 2 ipso	ipse *Ritter*
93, 8 aviditas	aviditate ***Med.***
9 labefecit	labefacta *Meiser*
ib. insuper confusus	confusus insuper *Gerber*
94, 12 inerti	*omit* b^2, *dett.*
99, 2 expediri	expedire *Acidalius*
100, 13 proditioni	proditionis ***Med.***
19 [ut et similes sint]	*omit*

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